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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

Vol. VII, No. 1] [MAY, 1916

Contents

Editorial - - - - - 1

Congregationalism in the Fen Country, II - 3

The Clerical Subsidy, 1661 - - - - 16

Arianism and the Exeter Assembly - - 34
Fred. J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D.

St. Mary's Chapel, Broadstairs - - 44

Puritanism in Wharfedale - - - 49
Geo. Shaw Briggs

Thomas Hall of King's Norton - - 58

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Editorial

BOTH the Editor and the printer much regret the unavoidable delay of the present issue. It is entirely due to the depletion of the staff in the printing-office in consequence of the war.

* *

Our Autumnal Meeting was held at Leeds, on 6th October, 1915. The Rev. Dr. Nightingale being absent on account of illness, the chair was taken by the Rev. Dr. Grieve. Two interesting papers were read ; one by the Rev. G. S. Briggs on *Puritanism in Wharfedale*, and the other by the Rev. G. L. Turner on *The Clerical Subsidy of 1661*. One of these, and a first instalment of the other, will be found in the following pages.

* *

Our Annual Meeting was held at the Memorial Hall, on 10th May, 1916, the Rev. Dr. Nightingale presiding. There was a good attendance, and the Treasurer's report shewed a satisfactory balance in hand. The retiring officers were re-elected *en bloc*, with thanks for past services. A paper was read, contributed by the Rev. J. Charteris Johnston, M.A., of Torquay, on *The History of the Western College* ; this we hope to publish in our next issue. A general conversation followed, in which it was intimated that the projected Historical Exhibition was not abandoned, but only deferred till after the war.

* *

There has just been issued by the Cambridge University Press in two handsome large 8vo. volumes, at the price of one guinea net, *The Seconde Parte of a Register*, edited by our friend the Rev. Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D. It is enriched by a brief preface by Prof. C. H. Firth of Oxford. It is scarcely necessary to inform any member of the Congregational Historical Society that the title indicates that there is an earlier Register, a collection of Puritan tracts bearing the title *A parte of a Register*, issued from the press in the year 1593, and now very scarce, the greater part of the impression having been seized and destroyed. The present collection formed a second series, gathered by the same band of Puritan leaders, but was not printed. It forms part of the valuable Morrice MSS. in the possession of Dr. Williams's Library in London.

* *

The Seconde Parte of a Register as issued by Dr Peel is an immense addition to the apparatus of the student of early Puritan history. Very few persons were aware of the riches and variety of the collection ; the bulk of the MS. volumes was forbidding to most busy students ; and the very incomplete and perplexing index with which the reader was supplied only led to exasperation and further waste of time. Dr. Peel has calandered the collection, and his work is a model of exact scholarship and of good judgement. We have an abstract of every document, sometimes brief, in other cases more extended, and, in the case of the more important papers, very full, with liberal extracts. The whole of the pages are usefully annotated, elucidating obscure points in the text and giving references to further literature upon the subjects noted. And after the loose manner in which the documents have been handled by Neal, and the continual inaccuracies of Brook, it is a satisfaction to the student to feel that he is perfectly safe in Dr. Peel's hands. Dr. Peel's knowledge of the period and his general scholarship are equal to his great task, and his scrupulous honesty a salutary example to future historians. Besides Prof. Firth's introduction and his own, both replete in points of historical interest, Dr. Peel has enhanced the value of his work by adding five capital indexes dealing with printed books, manuscripts, places, persons and subjects. A preliminary perusal of these valuable indexes will at once shew what the careful study of the volumes will confirm, that there is scarcely a problem connected with the ecclesiastical history of the first thirty years and more of Elizabeth's reign, no problem certainly of any importance, that is not illuminated by these documents as they are now presented to us. Much of the record is quaint and interesting ; but the prevailing impression which the volumes will leave upon the mind is that of the earnestness of these early vindicators of the scriptural type of churchmanship ; and especially of the iron stanchness of those who proclaimed themselves Separatists, and would have no part in the secular-minded compromise between Genevan doctrine and Roman officialism which Elizabeth gave to the nation as the one and only Church she would tolerate.

* *

We hope to hold an Autumnal Meeting in Birmingham, on Wednesday, 4th October next.

Congregationalism in the Fen Country

(*Continued from vol. vi, p. 428*)

(60)
1701 4 m. 26 day sister Stern of Soham was added.
☞ . . . . About this time the church was greeted to . . . . by Bury Church.
A little after we were on the same Account greeted by the church at Chisil to wc. Mr. Nicholds is now pastor
— to the Church of Christ at Burwel to which Mr Doughty is pastor.
The Church of Christ at Bury saluteth you in . . . . our lord Jesus Christ, who is the Head over all things to the Church (61) which is his body, who is Ascended on high and continues to give gifts to Men, according to the seruice he designs them for in their Generation, some pastors etc, who by his providence more than six years since, sent his servant Mr John beart to preach the gospel among us [at times] for the space of two years, in which time we perceived that the grace of God was
(62) with him, and that he had the Anointings of the Spirit for that great work and service, and so soon as we perceived a dore opened we called him more orderly to preach the Gospel Among us constantly for more than four years last past, and finding him fittly qualified for
(63) office we desired letters of Recommendation & Dismission from the church at Ipswich, whereof he was a member, in order to our setling of him here as pastor, and he [*? was*] received as a Member in this church An Dom 1699 Nov 26; from which time we gave him seueral calls to . . . . the pastoral office, but he . . . . for several wighty Reasons was hindered, until the Lord by his word removed those obiections & silenced those
(64) Reasonings. Which being done at our last church meeting, being the first of this instant, the church renewed its call, he complyed therwith, & uoluntarily consented therunto to our great satisfaction: and it being designed by us more publickly to set him apart to that great office, we have appointed the 12 day of the next month for that service. and therefore intreate
(65) that you would please to send your Messengers as witnesses, and that your pastor may be one of them, to Assist in the work of the day, and to impower them (if

satisfied we are a true church of Christ, & on a right foundation) to give us the right hand of fellowship : we desire your speedy Answer, & shall take care to receive you & subscribe . . . our selues [by the consent of the church] your (66) loving bretheren James Cooke & James Noble, Elders.

1701 5 m. 4 day : it was Acted & uoted that joyning with Common prayer worship was Sinful. Rom. 12. 2, Gal. 2. 18, Eph. 5. 11, 2 Tim. 3. 5, Mat. 15. 2, 9, Luk. 11. 38.

(67) 6 Month 21 day brother Wodelo of Coueny was added.

1701 7 M 10 day brother Millitons daughter Percenary was Baptized.

Ezra 10. 8 Luk. 9. 62 & 19 day Jenny Dolbie of Ely was . . . . Excommunicated for toal [*sic*] neglect of Church Communion, & going from the truth to the quakers' lies.

1701 8 M. 16 day Sister Ransdel of Ely was Added.

19 day brother Churchman of Littleport was Added. now he lives at Hadnam. & his son Robbard was

(68) Baptized the . . 22 day and the 23 day sister Gant & sister Stockbrig was Added.

1701 10 M. 20 day Goodmans Howlet [*sic*] second wife was added.

25 day brother Chemps daughter was Baptized.

1702 . . . 3 m. 7 day brother Carron the elder was added of Burwel.

4 m. 21 day Edward Smit & John Spaldin was Baptized.

5 month 2 day Sister Holden of lidgate was Added.

(69) — 5 day Sister Pond of Lidgate was Added.

1702 6 m. Mairy Eaton was Baptized.

1702 7 m. 13 day John . . . Hunt of reach was cast out on the Lords day for gross drunkeness swaring fighting etc.

1702 [*8 m. 13 day . . . . on the 3d day of the week my son Benony was born at Soham.*]

1702 27 day John Shopland of Exnon was Baptized.

1702 10 m. 6 day Aelse Trowel was Baptized.

1702 11 m. 3 day Mary Tailor of Burwell was Baptized.

1702 11 m. 10 day brother Wake of Snailwell was Added.

(70) 1702 — . . . 14 day Jabiz Wood was Baptized.

— 15 day James Kidd was Baptized.

— 18 day John Ripply was Baptized.

— 27 day Mary Wodelow was Baptized.

— 12 m. 2 day Steuen Wake was Baptized.

1703 2 m. 8 day brother how of Burwell was Added.

— 11 day his son John how was Baptized.

— 4 m. 28 day Mary Simson of Islam was Baptized.

— 5 m. 13 day Samuel Gant was Baptized.

— 8 m. 5 day Elisabeth Milinton was Baptized.

(71) — 8 m. 15 day Brother Patarson was constituted Deacon
1703 [being first called & then Accepted] by election & seperation thereto by the prayers of the Church.
Col. 4. 17. Act. 6. 3, 5. 1 Cor. 12. 28 [*Illegible*] as the mouth of the church I gave him a charge to fulfil this ministry, with mutual promises to discharge mutual duties.
— 10 m. Elisabeth Ripply was Baptized.
1704 — 1 m. 8 day Edward Smit of Burwel was excommunicated for impenitent leauing his wife & child : and Sister Ray of reach was Added to us.
— 12 day brother Croke of Soham, sister Mary turner
(72) & Sister Spaldin was Added, & young Sister Garners son was Baptized.
1704 — 2 m. 2 day Sister Emans of burwell was Added.
— 4 m.—20 day William Kid was Baptized.
— 29 day Sister blackwell of burwell was Added.
— 5 m. 11 day Steuen Wake was Baptized.
— 6 m.—13 day Amos Woods was Baptized.
— 21 day— . . . . Aelse Blackwls was Baptized.
— 14 day—the church . . . noted sinfull to joyn with the publick worship for Exo. 20. 4, 6, & 1 Cor. 10, 7, Amos 5. 21, Ezek. 43. 10, Lev. 10. 3, Judg. 8. 17, Hos. 5. 11, Gal. 2. 11, Rev. 11. 2, Isah. 1. 10, Mat. 28. 20, Luk. 11. 32 (?), 1 Joh. 2. 6, Eph. 5. 11, Rom. 12. 2, Rev. 14. 3-12.
(73) 1704 — 8 m. 8 day Nicolis Fouler was Baptized.
— 19 day Sister bredgman of Burwell was Added.
— about 24 day William Simson was Baptized.
— 29 day John Eaton was Baptized.
1704 9 m.—4 day Elisabeth Carron was Baptized.
1705 — 1 m. Sister Potters child was Baptized.
1705 — 2 m.—26 day Sister Cutle of Soham was Added.
— 3 m.—31 day Sister Grigs of . . . Lidgit was Added or incorporated ; & Robbard & Joseph Sanfield of
(74) Dullingham was Added.
1705 —8 m.—11 day William trowell was Baptized, & Brother Brown of Burwell was constituted Deacon.
— 11 mo. 10 day Brother floit (*? Floyd*) of Newmaket was added.
1706 — 6 m.—22 day brother Chapman of Exonon (*Exning*) was Added.
— 7 m.—12 day William trowell was Baptized.
— 8 month Dority Chapman was Baptized.
— 11 m. 15 day Mathew Cook was Baptized.
(75) — 12 m. Mary BlackwelI was Baptized.
1707 —1 m. 1 day brother...John Riddly & Edward Chambers of Soham was Added.

— 23 day George Carrow was Baptized.
— 2 m.—3 day Sarah talor was Baptized.
— 6 day Ephata Woods was Baptized.
(*Interlined*) — 6 m.—18 day . . . thomas Harris was Baptized.
6 m.—28 day. A Solemn Renewal of Covenant (which is the oath or engagement of the Lord between us) Subscribed and made by Subscription. We whose names are under written do believe these truths &
(76) promise to perform these duties; And such shall be esteemed of be of the church.

2 tim. 1. 13 1. The Solemn confession & profession of our Most holy faith is what is in the 107 propositions in the . . . assemblies Catechism.

2 ly. as to our most holy order & practices we couenant and Agree unto the Lord & one another, believing in Christ's Merits for Acceptance, & Relying on his
2 thes. 3. 6-14 1 Cor. 5. 11 Spirit for Assistance. 1. to withdraw from euery brother
(77) that walketh disorderly, & is a Railer, and walk as a
" " interlined church according "to the holy order" of the Gospel &
Act. 1. 15-26 & 6. 3— & 14. 23 Rom. 14. 1 & 16. 1 Rules of fellowship given us in charge by our Lord Christ. Gal. 6. 16, 1 tim. 6. 14.

2. That we will Admit Members upon testimony of a work of grace upon them that God Shall enable & stirre up to declare as Isah. 44. 4, 5.

2 Cor. 6. 14. 15 1 Cor. 7. 39 & 9. 5 with Phi. 3. 17 " "interlined 3. that we will not Marry with the visible wicked or visible enemies of Christ & his "church" wayes.

4. that we will perseuer in partaking of the priviledges
Heb. 10. 24, 25 & 13. 1 Act, 2. 42 & in performing the duties of this church (78) according to the Rules of the word.

Rom. 2. 2,3 1 Cor. 5. 4— 5. 13 Mat. 18. 15-17 2 Cor. 2. 6-18 Gal. 6. 1 Eph. 4. 32 5. that we will submit to, & use as ther is occasion, the censures of Reproof, Admonition, & excommunication, to testifie that we cannot bear them that are euil, & Release the censure to the penitent.

Hos. 4. 15-17 Amos 5. 5-21 Rom. 11. 4 6. that we will not go to human worship or worship corrupted with superstition & inuentions of Men (79)

Mat. 1. 19 2 Sam. 1. 20 Jam. 4. 11 7. not discouer the secrets of the church, but endeuer to keep up before the world & each other, the reputation of each other, that the Name of God suffer not by us.

Act. 2. 37 1 Cor. 1. 4 & 7. 14 Rom. 11. 17 & 14. 19 Eph. 4. 3 8. that none be against the ordinance of Baptism of the Immediate seed of Church Members, at least so far as to make any disturbance in the church about it.
1 Cor. 4. 10 phi. 1. 27

Col. 4. 5 1 Pet. 2. 15 & 3. 16 Eph. 5. 16 Mat. 5. 16 (80) 9. that we will labour to carry it so to them that are without as they may be wone by our Good conuersation.

10. that we will be personally present, & not forsake the Assembling of ourselves together, but bear up the

Administration of the Gospel by a presential communion as much as may be upon Lords Days, (81) or upon euery first day of the week, & other . . . occasional church Meetings on week days for the bussiness of the Church—only let it be Excepted in tenderness & indulgence to our Bretheren & sisters in case of bad weather, infirmities of body, Age, Great Distance, they may meet together or hear a sound & holy Minister, in the town wher they live, except still when we brake bread, (82) for then all that can ought to Assemble with the Church, let what Gospel Minister soever preach in their towns.

Heb. 10. 24, 25
Ezra 10. 8
Act. 10. 33

(*No.* 11*th par.*)

12. that the officers perform their Duties & the elder or pastor perform his duties in preaching the word, prayer, Administration of the seals, visiting the sick & tempted, or the like, & that he Abide by the flock whilst we perform our Duties (83) & cleave to him, & carry on our own church state, to the Glory of God, & Reputation & Credit, of, or as Becometh to the Gospel. .

2 Tim . 4
1 Cor. 1. 11
& 11. 25
Act. 15. 36
Sam. 5. 14
Act. 20. 20, 28
1 thes. 5, 12, 13
1 Pet. 5. 1-3
Neh. 10. 29
1 Cor. 10. 31
Phi. 4. 27

13. that we will perform . . . the Duties of the word to our pastor, & obey, love, esteem, honour, & submit to him in the Lord.

1 thes. 5. 12, 13
1 tim. 5, 17
Heb. 13.* 7, 17

14. Pray for one another, & walk Exemplarily in holyness, love, meekness, & christian freedom, curtesie, pity & compassion one to another.

2 Cor. 9. 2
Heb, 10. 24
Mat. 5. 16
Rom. 12. 10-15
1 Cor. 16. 14
1 Pet. 4. 8

Phi. 4. 8, 1 Joh. 3. 18

(84)

15. Edifie & exhort one another, comfort the feeble minded, warn the unruly, Receive instructions & Reproofs without offence.

1 thes. 4. 18
& 5. 11-14
Rom. 14. 19
& 15. 14

Psa. 141. 5

16. Relieve any . . . . poor, & contribute according to our abilities to the upholding of the Church State, its ordinances, Ministry, & help to bare the burden & sustain the Charges of Gods House.

Mat. 5. 48
2 Cor. 9. 1-7
1 Cor. 10, 1, 2
Gal. 6. 6
1 Cor. 9. 9-17
Act. 11. 29
Ezra 2. 69
Heb. 13. 16

Phi. 4. 18, 2 Cor. 8. 13

(85)

17. Submit one to another in the fear of God. *as for instance in church debates the lesser part to the . . . . Judgment of the greater.*

Eph. 5. 21
1 Cor. 5. 4
Rom. 14. 1
Act. 14. 23
Eph. 4. 2, 32
Rom. 14. 1
Gal. 6. 2
Rom. 15. 1, 14
3 Joh. 6-10
Act. 6. 3, 5
& 14. 23
1 Cor. 5. 4-13
2 Cor. 2. 6
Col. 2. 5, 10

18. Bearing one anothers burdens, in bearable infirmities, & in Reproaches, opposition, & difficulties.

19. Not give up our church power in Ordination & excommunication to a classis [or presbytery] of Ministers.

Mat. 18. 17

(86)

20. Daily meditate on or read Daily God's Word.

Rom. 1. 8, Psa. 1. 2, Act. 17, 11

21. We will study the preseruation of truth & holyness in the midst of us.

Ezek. 43. 11
Psa. 93. 5
2 Pet. 3, 11
1 Pet. 1. 15, 16

2 Cor. 7. 1

* 17 in MS. by error.

Tit. 2. 14 & 3. 8
Mat. 6. 4
Eph. 6. 18 & 6. 4
Pro. 22. 6
Deu. 6. 6, 7
1 Chr. 28. 9
Gen. 14. 14
Mic. 6 8
2 Cor. 9. 1-7
Gal. 6. 10

22. Be zealous in Good works, & careful to maintain them ; as works of worship of God in the closet, family, catechize or instruct them in Gods word & Church Assemblies, (87) & of justice & Charity to men, especially to the poor of the church giving without grudging.

1 Cor. 14. 1-40

23. Do all things decently & in order.

1 Thes. 5. 15
Psa. 122. 1-6

24. not do any thing to the hurt of the church, but seek in a special Manner its prosperity.

2 Cor. 13. 11
Eph. 4. 3
1 Cor. 1. 10 & 11. 18 & 12. 25

25. that we will study peace & unity, & not rend by Division the body of Christ.

Phi. 1. 27

(88)

26. Delighting in one anothers society.

Psa. 16. 2 & 122. 1 & 119. 63

Gal. 6. 1

27. endeavouring in tenderness & meekness the Restoring the fallen.

Jude 22, 23
Mat. 18. 15-17
2 Cor. 13. 10
Tit. 1. 13

28. and of some making a difference, & Rebuke them Sharply.

Lev. 19. 16-17
Tit. 3. 1-3
2 Tim. 3. 1-3
Psalm 15. 3
Rom. 1. 30
Pro. 25. 33
2 Cor. 12. 20
1 Tim. 5. 17, 19
1 Pet. 2. 1
Eph. 4. 2-32

29. that we will check & frown upon talebearers, fals Accusers (89) backbiters, makebates, & will Avoid evil surmising . . . & slandering, especially our pastor & his family, and not receive any Accusation against him without two or three "credible"[6] witnesses ; and lay aside envy, evil speaking, guile, & hypocrisies. . . .

Eph. 6 Col. 3 & 4
Rom. 13. 1-7

30. Perform all Relative Duties.

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2
Mat. 16. 24-26
Heb. 11. 25-26
Psa. 137. 3

31. Deny ourselves, & make all other bussiness give (90) place, when self & they stand in the way of our obedience to Christs lawes in Church fellowship, & prefer Jerusalem aboue our chiefest joyes.

2 Pet. 3. 1

32. And Read this Couenant some times to stirre up our pure minds by way of Remembrance.

(91)

Mat. 18. 15-17
2 Cor. 6. 4

33. We will take up controuersies & offences between ourselves, & not trouble our pastor with them, till after the first and second Admonition.

Col. 3. 17
Mat. 18. 20 & 28. 8, 9
Isah 33. 22
Psa. 2. 6
Isah 24. 23

34. And do all things in Christs name only, & look at them as carrying His Authority in them as King of Zion.

(92)

☞ they promised 20 pounds a year & . . . 12 Sabbaths to go out on occasion

35. That we will give his subsistence into the Deacons hands at the time . . . . Appointed, & not trouble him to ask it. [Which . . . now was . . . five pounds every quarter, & to do other kindnesses as we are able.]

And when he cannot have a comfortable subsistence Among us we will Dismiss him from us upon his request.

☞ All that we mean & purpose by all this is that we

[6] This word interlined.

☞ the summ of all will not Allow of no sin, but allouedly endeuour the practice of all . . . the Duties of the word of God.

(93) And for the orderly & visible obligation upon ourselves, touching these things, which we are to perform "through Christ"[7] to the Glory of God & good of ourselves, & others, we do freely subscribe with our hands, without imposing one upon another.

George Doughty—pastor
thomas trowell—Ruling Elder
Jarue Paterson—Deacon

Edward Chambers
Mathew Crake
John Kid, Elder
Ralf Eaton
John Pur
(94) thomas Burls
thomas Wake
William Harris
John Riddly
John Robbins
Sister Riddly
Sister Cuttle
Sister Eaton
Sister Randals
Sister Simson
Sister Spaldin Elder
Catrin Spaldin
Ann Spaldin
Sister prr
Sister Militon
Sister Oylard
Sister Potter
Sister Veal
Sister Merit (?)
Sister Stern
(95) Sister Spelman
Bro. Churchman
John Kid the younger
John Havlock
Richard Robbins
Sister fisher
George Carron
Sister Staples

The entries of the next four years consist of 21 Admissions and 14 Baptisms; together with the following:

(96) 1708 12 m. 3 day brother Edward Chambers was chosen Deacon.

1709 9 m. 16 Sister Olyard Admonished a second time.

1710 1 m. ☞ in this month Sister Olyard was declared to have no communion with us in special ordinances till she testified her repentance for having deserted the church.

(97) 11 m. 21 day John Robbins was dealt with as Sister Oylard.

1711 1 m. John Robbins testified Repentance & was reconciled to the church.

1711 6 m. 5d my Dear & well beloued beloued [*sic*] wife was Received to the fellowship of our Covenant by a Dismission.[8]

[7] Interlined.
[8] Mr. Doughty's former wife appears to have died about October, 1702.

(98) ☞ the church of Christ in & About Barrington to the church of Christ in & about Soham, ouer which the . . . holy Ghost hath made the Rev[d] M[r] Doughty overseer, sendeth greeting, grace, mercy, etc.
Dearly beloved in our lord Jesus Christ, whereas our sister Doughty, a sister in fellowship with us, and walked with us (99) as become the Gospel whilst with us, desiring her Dismission, & Approving her Reasons for the same, we do hereby Discharge her from her near Relation with, & obligation to us, & commit her to your particular watch & care; doubting not but you
Rom. 16. 1 Act. 20. 32 will receive her in the lord, & that you will be every way helpfull to the promoting her edification & comfort; for which spiritual ends we commend you with her to God & the word of his grace, etc.
Subscribed by the consent (100) & in the name of the whole Church of Christ in & About Barrington.
thomas Jenning—pastor.
Richard Day, Robbard Barnet,
John Austin, timothy Norman, Deacons.

1711 Seventh Month 30 day. John Chambers was by the unanimous uote of the church gathered together Adjudged unworthy of a letter of Approbation or recommendation to any person or people, (101) and not to have communion with the church in special ordinances till he testifie his repentance. Mat. 5. 23-25, Ezra 10. 8, Eph. 5. 11 . . . . he hauing couenanted & engaged by word of mouth & subscribing with his hand to perform the Duties of the word in the church, & having for seueral Month forsaken Church Assemblies . . . both on week days & Sacrament days, and have been Admonished of his sin & exhorted to his duty both . . . . privately & publickly, & being still impenitent in this sinful practice, which is contrary to Gospel Rules in precepts, 1 Cor. 16. 13, Heb. 10. 25,
Hos. 6. 7 Acts 5. 1-5 Jos. 7. 11-26 Rom . . . 14. 19, 1 Cor. 10. 32, phi. 1. 27, Heb. 10. 23 & 13. 1, & precedent Act. 2. 42; and a . . . . braking of a Solemn Covenant, wherein he lyed unto God & unto Man. 2 thes. 3. 6 & 14.

(102) 1711 11 m. 20 day non communion was unanimously uoted with John Robbins till he testified his Repentance to
Mat. 5. 24 Eph. 5. 11 Ezra 10. 3 satisfaction. His offences was long ommitting Church Assemblies and uain singing.
6 m. 3 day Tho Smith Rejoyned to the Church.[9]

[9] The name is in a different handwriting, perhaps Smith's own: the other words are crowded into the margin.

1712 6 m. 27 day the church judged that the bretheren at Burwell & thereabouts were still Members unless by their seperation they cut off themselues : then it was declared if they imbodyed or joyned with Mr Campain we would give them (103) no disturbance in their so doing.

1712 12 month 15 day Sister fisher of Structom [? Stretham] was cut off for perjury which was a publick scandal. the Matter of fact the church declared they belieued to be true, & that it deserved the censure. Psa. 101. 1-7, Act. 5. 1-5.

All the remaining entries, down to 13th June, 1734, are Baptisms (30) and Additions (16)[10], except the following :

(105) 1715 5 months 31 day John watson & his wife . . . . for their scandalous living in fighting, was acted not to have communion with the church in special ordinances till their reformation & . . . . confessing their sins. 1 Cor. 5. 11, 2 Tim. 3. 5, Eph. 5. 11.

And Ann Shelnerton for toal (*sic*) forsaking church fellowship . . . was uoted not to have no communion with the church in special ordinances till she confessed her sin . . . . in forsaking church fellowship & going

(107) to . . . publick Heb. 10. 25, 2 Thes. 3. 6.

1718 Sixt month 7 day Sister palmer [and sister Alse Moody] was added to this church.

At the end of their experience was the church covenant or agreement by which they were admitted in these words.

I desire to take a whole Christ, as a Priest to save me by his Merits, as a prophet to teach me by his Doctrine, and as a king to Rule & govern me by his precepts, ... laws, & Rules of his word ; And now I confesse & professe before men a Scripture faith in Christ alone for Salvation, & profess & promise a Scripture obedience to him as God shall help me ; and to walk and abide in the holy order and ordinances of the gospel in this church, desiring your prayers that I may be faithful unto death, and then receive a crown of Glory given me by my dear Redeemer.

There is a large erasure of at least 80 words, in the margin.

108

— then they withdrew.

— having the consent of the church for their Admission they were called in & told the church consented their

[10] Many of these have the actual signatures.

admission; then they were admitted by the pastor, who gave them the right hand of fellowship. . . .

Sister, you having giving [*sic*] yourself to the lord. and to us by the will of God, and confessed and professed and promised a Scripture faith in Christ and obedience to him. I promise in the name of Christ . . . . and his Church he[r]e gathered together that we will perform our duties to you for your edification & comfort in the Lord as becomes a church of . . . Christ as he shall help us; and do now, in the Name of Christ & with the consent of this church, Admit & pronounce you a member of this church of the living God, & as a sign & token thereof give you the right hand of fellowship.

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(110) 1722 1 month. this church was greeted by Cambridg church.[11]

the church of Christ meeting in Stone yard in Cambridge to the church of Christ at Soham, with the beloued pastor, M[r] Doughty, greeting.

Beloved bretheren—the lord hauing laid it on our hearts to study, seek, and pray for the well being of this
111 church of Christ. (whereof by the grace of God we are called to be Members), that all the ordinances of Christ might be duly dispensed in it; it was his Good pleasure to direct us to invite our beloued brother John Dauis to minister the word among us: whose labours have been . . . . made of use to many souls, hath given us encouragement to proceed to give him a call to take the pastoral charge of this church upon him, which call he hath complied with, whereupon we have set apart a time for his more solemn taking upon him the office and
112 Relation of pastor to us, to be over us in the lord, viz Wednesday the 21 day of March; therefore that fellowship and communion in the Gospel might be stablished and maintained between us and you, and brotherly love continued, we desire that Messengers from you may be then present to behold our order in this affair, and to give the right hand of fellowship one to another. In the mean time we beg you would joyn with us in prayer, that more of the Spirit . . . . may come down upon us (113) and his Glory manifested in the midst of us. So wishing mercy and peace to be multiplied unto you, we conclude, your bretheren in the bands of the Gospel,

[11] This church was a secession from that of which Rev. Jos. Hussey had formerly been pastor.

Rich. fairchild, Joseph Ray,
John littlewood, Deacons.
thomas Goode, L. Hagger, M. Wait.

The meeting-house at Soham, during Mr. Doughty's ministry, was a transformed barn. In 1717 there were 200 hearers, of whom 13 were county voters. Mr. Doughty died in 1734 or-5, when the fellowship was divided; some worshipped at Burwell, some at Isleham (forming, it would seem, the nucleus of the Union Baptist church which still flourishes there), and some uniting with a Presbyterian church of "Fordham and Soham," of which Rev. Tobias Wildbore was minister from 1722 to 1741. After his removal seven ministers followed in quick succession within 21 years; and then, in 1762, the church was reconstituted as Congregational under the pastorate of the Rev. T. Adams. The ministers from that time onwards were:

Rev. T. Adams, 1762-1781.
,, R. Roote, 1782-1829.
,, W. Dallison, 1827—(colleague).
,, Chas. Hickman, 1830-34.
,, F. R. Moore, 1834-48.
,, A. T. Shelley, 1851-55.
,, D. Matheson, B.A., 1856-61.
,, W. C. Shearer, M.A., 1862-63.
,, J. H. Cattow, 1865-72.
,, W. Young, 1872-95.
,, J. Hancock, 1895-1901.
,, H. C. Gant, 1902-07.
,, F. W. Freeman, 1908-13.
,, W. H. Davis, 1914, the present pastor.

The old barn gave place to a regular meeting-house in 1803; the present chapel was built in 1841.

On the removal of Mr. Doughty from Burwell, about 1712, he was succeeded by the Rev. Thos. Royston, who in 1725 established a branch church at Catledge, otherwise Kirtling. He died in 1744, and was followed in the dual pastorate by the

Rev. Joseph Maulden about 1747. In this year a meeting-house was built; it is not very clear what accommodation for its assemblies the church had previously enjoyed. In 1767 Catledge was dissociated from Burwell; a Mr. Carver ministered there till 1770, after which the station was variously supplied till 1818, when the services would seem to have been discontinued. Mr. Maulden's pastorate at Burwell lasted 49 years. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thos. Nicklin in 1797, and in that year or the next the present church building was erected. Mr. Nicklin's ministry ended in 1816; and there is a void in the succession till 1827, when a Mr. Shepherd appears as pastor.

The succeeding ministers have been:

Rev. Jas. Buckfit, 1829 to 1835 or later.
„ E. Flower, 1840-1847 (died 1859).
„ A. R. Philp, 1848-1850.
„ J. E. Cullen, 1850-1859.
„ J. Hicks, 1859-65.
„ G. H. White, 1866-68.
„ W. P. Huddlestone, 1869-77.
„ J. W. Upton, 1881: the present pastor.

The church building was renovated in 1866, and again in 1881, when the manse was purchased.

In 1823 a shed at Reach was fitted up as a preaching-place; where in 1838 a chapel was built by Mr. E. Ball. This was enlarged in 1842 and again in 1847, and a burial-ground provided in 1848. A local church was organized, to which Mr. Ball ministered for several years, and which in 1862 was incorporated with that at Burwell; and a new chapel was built in 1863.

The following churches exist within the area from which the original Soham and Burwell fellowship was gathered:

CONGREGATIONAL.

Newmarket	founded	1790.
Ely (C.H.)	,,	1793.
Fordham	,,	1818.
Chippenham	,,	1832.
Cheveley	,,	1868.

BAPTIST.

Isleham	,,	1693.
Soham	,,	1752.
Haddenham	,,	1814.
Ely	,,	1820.
Landbeach	,,	1828.
Burwell	,,	1851.

The Clerical Subsidy, 1661

IT is not to *Clerical Subsidy Rolls* that one would naturally turn for fresh light on Nonconformists and Nonconformity.

Yet the Rolls of one Clerical Subsidy afford absolutely trustworthy evidence on one point on which historians have differed, and but for this evidence might differ to the end of time. I mean the date of ejectment or silencing of those Puritan ministers who thus suffered after the Monarchy had been restored and Episcopacy had been re-established.

With many it was in 1660 that they were turned out from their benefices to make way for clergymen who had been sequestered in the Interregnum and still survived to claim their sequestered livings; but with many more it was on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, because they could not subscribe the oath prescribed by the Act of Uniformity.

The lists of Calamy and Palmer include both classes. In many cases these authors had obtained, and they give, authentic information on this question of date; but in some cases they have ventured statements on insufficient data; and in many others they do not venture any statement upon the point at all.

There is one Clerical Subsidy, however, the Rolls of which *ipso facto* solve the question. It is the Clerical Subsidy made in 1661. By an Ordinance of Parliament a Subsidy was called for from the clergy of England and Wales, which would

incidentally test and attest their loyalty to Charles the Second, as well as provide a welcome pecuniary gift to "the merry monarch" whose love of pleasure made him so eager for money. Though "suggested" (which is only a euphemism for "ordered") by an Act of Parliament, and authorized by his Majesty under the Great Seal of England, with a charming simplicity and ingenuousness it was called "a Free and Voluntary Present to his Majesty." The bishop of each diocese saw to the ingathering of it, and sent into the Treasury the sum gathered; with a list of "the Reverend the Clergy" within the diocese who had subscribed to it. These lists formed the Clerical Subsidy Rolls of that date, 1661.

Now it is self-evident that any minister whose name appears on any of these rolls was still one of "the Reverend Clergy of the Established Church of England." Negatively it is proved that he had not been "outed" in 1660, positively it is certain that if he were ejected from his living it must have been subsequent to 1661, and almost certainly by the operation of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. A complete set of such Subsidy Rolls would therefore give absolutely reliable information as to the date of the ejectment of all Nonconformist ejected ministers whose names appear therein.

The point occurred to me almost casually as I was working in the Public Record Office on the Early Nonconformity of Bristol; seeking collateral information about the pioneers of Nonconformity in that city by turning up all the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Bristol and its immediate neighbourhood, to get light on their social position and financial standing by noting the amount of their assessments either in lands or goods; and, later, the number of hearths in their houses for which they were rated in the Chimney or Hearth Taxes of

Charles II's reign. In a waiting moment I looked up in the Calendar the Clerical Subsidies for the diocese of Bristol; and to my delight found that there was one for 13 Car. II., *i.e.*, for A.D. 1661. I put in an application for it; and on obtaining it had the shock of a still more pleasant surprise in coming upon over a score of names which I knew well as old Nonconformist friends not only in the city of Bristol but in the county of Dorset. I made a transcript of the greater part of it; and while doing so, realized that a complete series of these Clerical Subsidy Rolls for 1661 would furnish the valuable information I have just referred to.

So I set about the task in systematic fashion. I carefully scrutinized the Calendar of Clerical Subsidies (preserved in MS. volumes) for the 22 English dioceses and the 4 dioceses of Wales; and though I freely confess to serious disappointment that the result is comparatively meagre, still I feel the search has amply rewarded me, and I have pleasure in passing on the results to my brethren who are interested in this point of Nonconformist history.

Of the 22 English dioceses, there are preserved in the archives of the Public Record Office Clerical Subsidy Rolls of this date from only *five:* and one of these, viz. that from the diocese of Exeter (which would have been of superlative interest), most tantalizingly gives only the names of the *benefices contributing*, but *not* of the *clergy* holding these benefices; while of a second, that from Rochester, there are only fragments of no value to the Nonconformist historian. The remaining three, however, are full of interest. They are those from the dioceses of Worcester and Oxon in the Southern Midlands; and that from the diocese of Bristol in the south west.

The Rolls from *Wales* are proportionately far

more complete. Of its four dioceses, only *one* is wanting, viz. St. Asaph. The Subsidy Rolls from the other *three*, viz. from Bangor, St. David's and Llandaff, are very full. Of these three, however, one (the first) yields no names either of places or persons which figure in the pages of either Calamy or Palmer.

I have transcribed the whole of the Subsidy Rolls from the three English dioceses and the two Welsh dioceses which alone yield us the information we desire. I have also compiled a Classified Summary of the results of a careful scrutiny of them, with a view to noting and extracting all the items which give the names of parishes noted in the lists of our historians of the ejected Nonconformists, whether Calamy or Palmer.

This Summary I have arranged under the heads of the five dioceses concerned ; grouping separately the several counties included in each, and under these the ecclesiastical deaneries in which the individual parishes are given.

I have also separated out the information given about these places which appear in both the Clerical Subsidy on the one side, and the pages of Calamy and Palmer on the other, in six columns, giving :

1. The name of the parish.
2. The name of the minister given by Calamy or Palmer as "ejected" or "silenced" there.
3. The denomination to which he belonged, where information on that point is forthcoming.
4. The date of his ejectment : it being clearly 1662 if the name of the minister is the same in the Subsidy Roll and in the pages of Calamy and Palmer ; and 1660, or early 1661, if the ministerial names are different.
5. The name given in the Subsidy Roll, in the second case.
6. The amount subscribed to the Free and Voluntary Present by either the one or the other.

All I propose to do in this paper is to give you

a brief résumé of the information contained in the transcripts and summary on *three* points: (1) the number of places or parishes of which these Clerical Subsidies give information; (2) the dates of ejectment or silencing of Nonconformist sufferers furnished by them, with the numbers of those ejected in either case; and (3) the amounts contributed by those who subscribed to the free and voluntary present to his Majesty, with the significance of these amounts, especially of those contributed by the men afterwards ejected under the Act of Uniformity.

i. First then the "places" or "parishes" common to these Clerical Subsidies and the pages of Calamy and Palmer.

I. In *England* there were 75; *viz.* 20 in Worcester county; 5 in the county of Warwick; 13 in Oxfordshire; 4 in Bristol city, with one in the adjacent part of Gloucester (which is in the diocese of Bristol), and 32 in the county of Dorset (in the same diocese.)

II. In Wales there were 29, *viz.* 1 in Pembroke; 3 in Carmarthen; 3 in Cardigan; 3 in Brecon; 2 in Radnor; 8 in Glamorgan; and 9 in Monmouth.

Or 104 places or parishes in the whole of England and Wales.

ii. Second: the *dates* of ejectment or silencing revealed by these Subsidies as either confirming, supplementing or correcting the statements of Calamy and Palmer. This threefold function I proceed to display in detail.

[In order to economize space, and at the same time to give the fullest possible information, it has been thought advisable to print Professor Turner's *Classified Summary* in full; and in place of his *detailed* enumeration to substitute a condensed abstract, with reference marks, which are explained below.—ED.]

Classified Summary of Results

1. ENGLAND

i. Worcester Diocese

I. Worcestershire

(i) *Wygorn* Deanery

1.	*Worcester City St. Andrews* ...		Joseph Baker †	1662		£2 10 0	
2.	*Worcester City All Saints* ...	C	Richard Fincher †	1660	[James Warrock	£0 10 0]	
3.	*Kemsey*		Thomas Bromwich ‖	1662		£1 0 0	
4.	*Broadway* (*Broadwaies*)		Mr. Wall †	1660	[Dr. Nath. Tompkins	£10 0 0]	

(ii) *Powick* Deanery

5.	*Kidmarley d'Abitot* ... ... (*Redmarley*)		Willm. Kimberley †	1662		£10 0 0	

(iii) *Wytch* Deanery

6.	*Hampton Lovitt*		John Freeston ‖	1660	[James Pitt	£10 0 0]	
7.	*Salwarp*	P	Richard Woolley ‖	1662		£2 0 0	
8.	*Bromsgrove*	C	James Spilsbury ‖	1660	[John Woolley	£5 0 0]	

(iv) *Kidderminster* Deanery

9.	*Kidderminster*		Richard Baxter ‖	1660	] George Daunce	£10 0 0]	
10.	*Chaddesley*	P	Thomas Baldwin, sen.*	1660	[Samuel Lee	£3 0 0]	
11.	*Stone*	P	Richard Sergeant †	1662		£5 0 0	
12.	*Old Swinford*	P	Jarvis Bryan ‖	1662		£5 0 0	

(v) *Pershore & Evesham* Deanery

13.	*Naunton Beauchamp*		Thomas Franks †	1660	[Fr. Robinson	£5 0 0]	
14.	*Churchill*	P	Edward Boucher ‖	1660-1	[Joseph Brittayne	£6 0 0]	
15.	*Harvington*	C	Stephen Baxter †	1662		£5 0 0	
16.	*Pippleton*		Cornelius Woodward * *not* Wood	1662		£5 0 0	
17.	*Evesham* (*All Saints*)		George Hopkins †	1662		£0 16 0	
18.	*Cropthorn*	C	William Westmacot †	1660	[Wm. Thornborough	£10 0 0]	
19.	*Doderhill*		Thomas Francis †	1660	[Wm. Jones	05 00 00] not pd.	
20.	*Alvechurch*	P	Richard Moore ‖	1660-1	[Wm. Hollington	10 00 00] not pd.	

II. Warwick

(i) *Kineton* Deanery

1.	*Stratford-upon-Avon*		Alexander Beane ‖	1662		£2	0 0

(ii) *Warwick* Deanery

2.	*Alcester*	P	Samuel Tickner ‖	1662		£2	0 0
3.	*Exhall*	C	Josiah Bassett*	1660	[Timothy Kirke	£5	10 0]
4.	*Witton* (Wootten)	P	James Wright †	1662		£1	0 0
5.	*Wroxhall* (Wiershall)		Luke Milbourne ‖	1662		£1	0 0

ii. Oxford Diocese

III. Oxon

(i) *Woodstock* Deanery

1.	*Glympton*		Nathaniel Stonyford †	1662		02	00 00
2.	*Westcot Barton* ... ... *al.* Barton Westcote		— Bowen †	1660	[Thomas Belcher	01	10 00]
3.	*Kidlington* (with Rectorship of Exeter Coll.)		Dr. John Conant †	1662		47	10 00 but not pd.

(ii) *Witney* Deanery

4.	*Witney*	P	William Gilbert, lecturer †	1662	[Dr. Ralph Brideoak, vic.]		

(iii) *Chipping Norton* Deanery

5.	*Broughton*		Nathaniel Coney †	1662		02	00 00
6.	*Daddington*		James Wyar †	1662		00	10 00
7.	*Bloxham*		Christopher Nevil †	1662		01	00 00

(v) *Henley* Deanery

8.	*Henley-on-Thames*	P	William Brice †	1662		04	00 00

(vi) *Bicester* Deanery

9.	*Littlingstone*		John Hathaway †	1662		02	00 00
10.	*Heyford* (*Nether* al. *ad Pontem*) ...	P	John Dod ‖	1662		02	10 00
11.	*Somerton*		John Fenwick *	1660	[Myles Sandys	08	00 00]

(vii) *Peculiars* of Oxon.

12.	*Banbury*	P	Samuel Wells ‖	1662		01	00 00
13.	*Newington*		Edward Archer †	1660	[Dr. John Dolben	20	00 00]

IV. Bristol City

1.	*The Cathedral* ...	...	...	P	John Knowles ‖	1660	[Dean and Chapter	160 00 00]
2.	*St. James's* ...	...	...	P	John Paul †	1662		01 00 00
3.	*St. Ewen's* ...	...	...	P	Matthew Hazard †	1662		01 00 00
4.	*St. Phillip's and Jacobs* ...		...	P ? C	Edward Hancock ‖	1662		01 10 00

V. Dorset

(i) *Pimperne* Deanery

1.	*Tarrant Hinton* ...	...	P	Timothy Sacheverell ‖	1662			02 00 00
2.	*Blandford Forum* ...	...	C	William Allein ‖	1660	[John Lyndsey		02 00 00]
3.	*Pimperne* ...	...	P	John White ‖	1660	[Christopher Pitt		04 00 00]
4.	*Tarrant Munckton* ...	...	C	Henry Martyn §	1662			00 05 00
5.	*Stalbridge*	...		*Rich. de Shute* (aftd. confd) †	1660	W. Goddard		02 00 00

(ii) *Shaston* Deanery

6.	*Sherborne*	...	P	Francis Bampfield ‖	1662			1 year's Tithe
7.	*Melbury Bubb*	...	P	Mr. Forward †	1660	[Will. Handleigh		00 10 00]

(iii) *Dorchester* Deanery

8.	*Weeke*	...	P C	Mr. Damer { "Dammer" / "Dummer" } *	1660	[Will. Blake		03 00 00]
								00 15 00
9.	*Weymouth and Melcombe Regis*	...	C	George Thorne ‖	1662			00 15 00
10.	*West Stafford* ...	...	C	Benjamin Way †	1662			02 00 00
11.	*Winterborne Came*	...	P	Christopher Lawrence ‖	1662			00 10 00
12.	*Over Compton* ...	...	C	Robert Bartlett ‖	1662			00 05 00
13.	*Whitchurch-Winterbourne*	...	C	John Wesley ‖	1662			00 15 00
14.	*Winterbourne-Munckton* ...	...	C	Richard Downe §	1662			02 00 00
15.	*Dorchester* (*Trinity*) ...	...	P	George Hammond ‖	1662			01 10 00
16.	*Dorchester* (*All Saints*) ...	...	C	William Benn ‖	1662			01 10 00
17.	*Clifton*	...		William Oake ‖	1662			

(iv) *Whitchurch* Deanery

18.	*Spetisbury*	...	P	Mr. Trottle	1660-1	[William Smith		10 00 00]

(v) *Carne* Deanery

19.	*Litchet Matravers* ...	...	P	Thomas Rowe ‖	1662			01 10 00

20.	*Buckland Newton*	P	John Weekes †	1662			01 10 00
21.	*Bere Regis*	C	Philip Lamb †	1662			01 05 00
	(vi) *Bridport* Deanery						
22.	*Hawkchurch*	P	John Hodder †	1662			05 00 00
23.	*Lyme Regis*	P	Ames Short †	1662			02 10 00
24.	*Wootton-Fitzpaine*	P	John Kerridge †	1662			01 10 00
25.	*Netherbury*		Joseph Crabbe	1662			01 00 00
26.	*Bettiscombe*		Isaac Clifford †	1662			00 10 00
27.	*Bradpole*	P	William Sampson †	1662			00 10 00
28.	*Broadwindsor*	P	John Pinney ‖	1662			01 10 00
29.	*Bridport*	C	John [William] Eaton *	1660	[Nath. Goodwin		01 10 00]
30.	*Rampisham*	P	Thomas Craine *	1662			01 00 00
31.	*Burstock*	P	Henry Parsons ‖	1662			00 10 00
32.	*Whitchurch-Canonicorum* ...		John Salway †	1660	[Samuel Lockett		00 10 00]

VI. Gloucester

1.	*Clifton*		Nathaniel Ravens	1661			00 10 00
	Welshpool		Nathaniel Ravens	1660			
1.	*Elberton*		Mr. Hilton † if *i.q.* *Will. Wilton* } if *not*	1662 / 1660	[William Wilton		01 00 00 01 00 00]

2. WALES

(iv) i. St. David's Diocese

I. Pembroke

1.	*St. Ismael's*	C	Adam Hawkins †	1662			£1 0 0

II. Carmarthen

1.	*Oxwich*		Evan Griffiths †	1662			£2 10 0
2.	*Port Eynon*	C	Daniel Higgs §	1662			£2 0 0
3.	*Midrym*	C	Stephen Hughes †	1660-1	[John Rice		£2 10 0]
[?4.	Llanibyther or Llandissilio	C	David Jones		£1 0 0]		

III. Cardigan

1.	*Llangynllo*	...		Lewis Price †	1660-1	[Thomas Evans	£2	10	0]
2.	*Llanbeder*—Pont-Stephen	...	C	*Rice Powel* †	1662	[aftds. conformed]	0	10	0
3.	*Llandevriog*	...	C	Evan Hughes †	1660-1	[David Evans	£1	0	0]

IV. Brecknock

1.	*Llandevayllog*	...	C	Thomas Edwards	1660-1	[Jacob Wood	£5	0	0]
2.	*Kathedin*	...		Jonathan Edwards †	1660-1	[John Perrott	£1	10	0]
3.	*Maesmynys*	...		Thomas Evans †	1660-1	[David ? William Jones	£2	0	0]

V. Radnor

1.	*Clirow*	...	C	Richard Swaine	? 1660-2	[Henry Melyn, prebend	£5	0	0]
2.	*Llanbister*	...	C	*Thomas Evans*	1662	[aftds. conformed]	£2	10	0

VI. Glamorgan

1.	*St. Lythan's*	...	C	John Powell ‖	1660-1	[Thomas Maddock }				
2.	*St. Andrew's*	...	P	Joshua Miller †	1660-1	[Thomas Maddock }	£10	0	0]
3.	*St. Fagan's*	...		Edmund Ellis †	1660-1	[Willm. Lewis	£20	0	0]
4.	*Wenvoe*	...	P	John French †	1662		£10	0	0
5.	*Llantrissant*	...	C	Henry Williams †	1660-1	[Tho. Bassett	£20	0	0]
6.	*Llangynwydd*	...	P C	Samuel Jones ‖	1662		£3	0	0
7.	*Cadoxton*	...	C	Jenkyn Jones †	1660-1	[Henry Nicholls	£10	0	0]
8.	*St. Mary Church* ...	...	C	William Thomas †	1660-1	[Tho. Wilkins	£2	0	0]

(v) ii Llandaff Diocese

VII. Monmouth

1.	*Caerwent*	...	C	Mr. Rogers †	1660-1	[Playford Field	£5	0	0]
2.	*Newport*	...	C	Henry Walter †	1660-1	[John Griffith	0	15	0]
3.	*Magor*	...	C	Thomas Barnes †	1660-1	[Morgan Jones	£3	0	0]
4.	*Tredonock*	...	C	Walter Prossor †	1660-1	[Athanasius Davies	£5	0	0]
5.	*Llanvapley*	...	C	Mr. Walter Williams †	1660-1	[John Jones	£8	0	0]
6.	*Trelech*	...	C	William Milman or Mr. Simms †	1660-1	[Richard Meredith	£10	0	0]
7.	*Caerleon*	...	C	George Robinson †	1660	[Edward Wrench	£2	0	0]
8.	*Llandegveth*	...	C	George Robinson †	1662		£3	0	0
9.	*Llangattock* (*Vibonabel*) ...	...		John Robins †	1662		£2	0	0

The above Summary furnishes us with three groups of facts:

First, as to the dates of ejectments authentically determined by the Subsidy Rolls, which *confirm* those given by Calamy and Palmer, either by direct statement or by hints and implications; these number 31 (marked ‖ in the Summary); of whom 9 were outed by the legislation of 1660 and 22 ejected in 1662.

Second, dates furnished by the Subsidy Rolls, as to which Calamy has *no information;* these are no fewer than 59 (marked † in the Summary). In 38 of these Calamy, sometimes supplemented by Palmer, gives an account of the persons named, in some cases tolerably full, in others very meagre; but fails to indicate the date of ejectment; while of 21 only the bare names and places are given. From the Subsidy Roll we learn that 28 of these were displaced in 1660 and 31 in 1662.

Third, there are 7 cases (marked * in the Summary) where Calamy and Palmer have fallen into error, and the Subsidy Roll *corrects* them. In five of these our historians refer to 1662, or the Act of Uniformity, when the actual ejectment was earlier; while in two cases Calamy assigns an earlier date to what really occurred in 1662. Two other corrections also occur: Cornelius Woodward, ejected from Pippleton, Worc., must be substituted for Calamy's "Wood"; and John Eaton, ejected from Bridport, is misnamed by Calamy "William." But it affords clear evidence of the fidelity and care of Calamy and Palmer, that only in these few instances they have fallen into error.

Three other names (§ in the Summary) call for remark. Calamy has Richard Down ejected from Tarrant Winterbourn; and Palmer has attempted to set him right by substituting the name of Mr. Martyn. The Subsidy Roll shews that there were

two places as well as two persons, Henry Martyn of Tarrant Munckton and Richard Down of Winterbourn Munckton, both ejected in 1662. In the other case the roll justifies Calamy against an attempted correction by Palmer, who in his amended account of Daniel Higgs says "there is no such place as Portinon." The roll shews that Higgs was ejected from Port Eynon in 1662, having been previously outed from Rhossili in 1660.

Further, the Subsidy Roll gives us information of the ejectment of five persons whose names I have been able from other sources to add to the lists of Calamy and Palmer:

1. *Nathaniel Ravens*, whom Calamy notes as ejected from Welshpool, but who must now be recorded as previously at Clifton, near Bristol;
2. *Joseph Crabbe*, ejected from Netherbury in 1662;
3. *William Trottle*, ejected from Spetisbury, Dorset, in 1660; as also
4. *Thomas Edwards*, from Llandevayllog in Brecon, and
5. *Richard Swaine*, from Clirow (Clyro) in Radnor.

On this question of date, moreover, there is another point of interest, *viz.*, the numbers ejected in 1660 and 1662 respectively, in the several counties and in the two kingdoms, separately and collectively.

Of the 20 ejected in	Worcestershire,	we find	11	were outed in	1660	and	9	in 1662
,, 5 ,,	Warwickshire,	,,	1	,,	1660	,,	4	in 1662
,, 13 ,,	Oxon,	,,	3	,,	1660	,,	10	in 1662
,, 4 ,,	Bristol,	,,	1	,,	1660	,,	3	in 1662
,, 32 ,,	Dorset,	,,	8	,,	1660	,,	24	in 1662
,, 1 ,,	Gloucester county,		...	...	...		1	in 1662
So that of 75 ejected in	English counties		24	were outed in	1660	and	51	in 1662

But in Wales the proportions are distinctly reversed. It is true that the single ejectment in Pembroke was in 1662, and of the 3 in Carmarthen 1 was ejected in 1660 and 2 in 1662. But in 5 other Welsh counties: Cardigan, Brecon, Radnor, Glamorgan, and Monmouth, of 25 ejectments, 20 were in 1660, and only 5 in 1662. Thus for the

whole of Wales there were 21 ejectments in 1660, and only 8 in 1662.[1] Adding these figures to those given above for the English dioceses, we find that of the 104 persons with whom we are concerned in both England and Wales, 45 were outed at the Restoration, and 59 ejected in 1662; the proportion of the "ejected" to the "outed" being almost exactly 4 to 3.

3. There yet remains the *third* point, quite worthy of distinct notice, as full of significance both direct and indirect. I mean the *varying amounts* of the "free and voluntary present to his Majesty" which they record.

Taking the Subsidy Rolls as a whole, that is, including the *many* whose names do not appear in the pages of Calamy and Palmer, the range of variation in their amounts is even greater than is the case with those that do. In one or two cases they rise to £50, while in some cases they sink as low as 3s. 6d. or half a crown. It is only with those 104, however, which appear in both, that we are now concerned; and among them the highest amount is £20 and the lowest is 5s.

1. Before looking at these variations in detail, however, we may note the totals contributed, in the whole range of counties here concerned, and each county separately, with average per living in each case. Some very striking differences appear.

a. The total amount sent into the Treasury (from the 6 counties in England and the 7 in Wales) was £380 11s., *viz*., £238 16s. from England and £141 15s. from Wales. This gives an average of a little over £3 13 2 from the whole 104, or of £3 5s. from the 75 English parishes, and nearly £4 17s. from the Welsh, a noticeably higher average from the Welsh than from the English.

[1] Query is this fact related to the vigorous action of the "Propagators" in South Wales in 1649, see *Trans*. vi, 193?—Ed.

What is the reason of this? It cannot be because of the greater wealth of the Principality in proportion to its population. Does it shew a proportionately greater wealth in its ecclesiastical endowments?

b. In the separate counties we get the following results:

I. In England.

The total sent in from	*Worcester*	was	£122	6s.	giving an average of nearly			£6		
,, ,,	*Warwick*	was	£11	0	0	,,	,,	£2	4	0
,, ,,	*Oxford*	was	£46	10	0	with an average of		£4	4	6
,, ,,	*Bristol City*		£5	0	0	,,	,,	£1	0	0
,, ,,	*Gloucester Co.*	was	£1	10	0	,,	,,	£0	15	0
,, ,,	*Dorset*	was	£54	0	0	,,	,,	£1	15	0

II. In Wales.

The total sent in from	Pembroke	was	£1	0	0	giving an average of		£1	0	0
,, ,,	Carmarthen		£7	0	0	,,	,,	£2	6	8
,, ,,	Cardigan		£4	0	0	,,	,,	£1	6	8
,, ,,	Brecknock		£8	10	0	,,	,,	£2	16	8
,, ,,	Radnor		£7	10	0	,,	,,	£3	15	0
,, ,,	Glamorgan		£75	0	0	,,	,,	£10	14	3
,, ,,	Monmouth		£38	15	0	,,	,,	£4	6	1

In each kingdom, therefore, there is one county which is far and away more generous than any of the others, *viz.* in England, *Worcester*, with its average of nearly £6, and in Wales, *Glamorgan*, with its average of nearly £10 14 3.

And, now turning to the individual gifts, one thing is very noticeable, and very natural: by far the largest contributions are from the Anglican clergy, who were sequestered in the Commonwealth period, and lived to be reinstated at the Restoration. Yet what more natural than that they should shew that loyalty and gratitude by a *handsome gift to his sacred Majesty whose Restoration had reinstated them?*

Thus:

I. In *Worcester* Co. 5 *sums of* £10 were given [by *Dr. Nathaniel Tomkins* from Broadway; by *James Pilt* from Hampton Lovitt; *George Dannce* from Kidderminster; and *William Thornborough* from Cropthorn; and promised (though

not paid) by *William Hollington* from Alvechurch ;] and one sum of £6 was given [by Joseph Brittayne from Churchill].

II. In Warwick, £5 *10 0* was given by *Timothy Kirke* from Exhall, a sum only 10/- less than the total of the four other gifts from this county.

III. In Oxfordshire, £20 was sent by *Dr. John Dolben* from Newington, who soon afterwards became Bishop of Rochester, and ultimately Archbishop of York ; and £8 was given by *Myles Sandys* from Somerton.

IV. In *Dorset*, £10 was given by William Smith from Spetisbury ; £4 by Christopher Pitt from Pimperne ; and £3 by William Blake from Weeke (or Wyke Regis).

V. In *Wales*, two sums of £20 were given in *Glamorgan* [by John Lewis from St. Fagan's and Henry Williams from Llantrissent] ; and two sums of £10 from the same county [*viz.* by Thomas Maddock for St. Lythams and Henry Nicholls from Cadoxton], and with a third in *Monmouth* [by Richard Meredith from Trelech], while £8 was given by John Jones from Llanvapley ; and four sums of £5 were sent in from Brecon.

Radnor and Monmouth. Jacob Wood from Llandevayllog in *Brecon*, Henry Melyn from Clirow in *Radnor*, by Playford Field from Caerwent, and Athanasius Davies from Tredonock, both in Monmouth.

Turning from these, however, to the *Puritans* who stayed in their livings until they were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, we must be struck with the *modest scale* of *their* gifts to the king.

There were two notable exceptions: William Kimberley of Kidmarley d'Abitot in Worcester (Calamy calls it Redmarley), and John French of Wenvoe in Glamorgan, each gave £10 ; but these two must have had long purses and the strong personal loyalty to the Stuarts which was characteristic of their type of scholarly Presbyterianism.

A third I must separately mention, not exactly because of the large amount of his contribution, but because of the singular form his contribution took.

It is that of Francis Bampfield of Sherborne,

whose case is so remarkable a one in many ways: who though Royalist suffered cruelly from Royalist Episcopalians, being imprisoned many months in Dorchester gaol; who after his ejectment made a tour of the sects, beginning as a Presbyterian, then turning Independent, and finally joining the Baptists; who when in 1672 he secured a licence under the Indulgence, like Richard Baxter, would not avow himself as an adherent of any of the three recognized sects, but had the licence made out to him as "a Nonconforming minister," and (in this standing absolutely alone) having his licence made out not on paper but on *parchment* by the special order of Lord Treasurer Clifford. This is the entry of his contribution in the Lay Subsidy Roll for Bristol, under the Shaston Deanery:

> "Francis Bampfield, Vicar of Sherborne giveth All tithes for one whole yeare last past ended at Michaelmas due to the Vicar of Sherborne, excepting the tenths due to his Majesty. And appointeth John fforsey Clark to gather the said yeares proffitts to the use of his Majestie."

It is not absolutely unique, although none of the "ejected" ever thought of giving their "present" in this form: for one other clergyman in Dorset County in the *Pimperne* Deanery did the same, adding its money value:

> "John Straight, Vicar of Stourepayne and Turneworth giveth one full Tenth of his benefices according to their valluation in his Majestyes booke which is the sume of £1 16 1."

With these three exceptions we find that the highest amount given by any of the 59 who were subsequently ejected was £5, and this by only five of the whole number. There was one gift of £4, two of £3, five of £2 10s. (one of these afterwards conformed), twelve of £2 (one afterwards conformed). Is it not suggestive that of these 25, who

sent in respectable sums ranging from £2 to £5, only four were Congregationalists or Independents, the other twenty-one were Presbyterians ?

The rest of the gifts contributed by the ejected varied between 30s. and 5s., *viz.*: seven of 30s., one of 25s., eleven of 20s., one of 16s., three of 15s., six of 10s., two of 5s.

When we try to distinguish their various ecclesiastical proclivities, these facts arrest attention: of the donors of 30s. only one was a Congregationalist, *William Ben* of Dorchester; all the rest were Presbyterians. Though *Philip Lamb* of Bere Regis, the one donor of 25s., was a Congregationalist, among the eleven donors of the respectable sovereign three were avowed Presbyterians, and the other eight of no specified ecclesiastical colour; which last may also be said of the solitary donor of 16s.

All three of the subscribers of 15s., *George Thorne*, *Benjamin Way*, and *Richard Downe*, were strong Congregationalists; of the six contributors of half-a-sovereign three were avowed Presbyterians, two were doubtful, and one *Robert Bartlett* of Over Compton, was a decided Congregationalist. This may also be said without hesitation of the two who had the boldness to give "a mere five shillings," to shew how little their heart was in a "Free Voluntary Present" to such a graceless wastrel as Charles II, *viz.: Henry Martyn* of Tarrant Munckton, and *John Wesley* of Whitchurch Winterbourne, the grandfather of his more celebrated namesake, who, with his brother Charles, became the founder of the great Wesleyan Church,

It may therefore be fairly maintained that what we might naturally argue *a priori* is proved to be true as a matter of fact.

The *Presbyterians* were largely decided Royalists,

while the *Independents* or *Congregationalists* had little love for monarchy.

We should therefore expect the Presbyterians to shew their delight at the Restoration of the monarchy by liberal contributions to this "Free and Voluntary Present" to Charles II, while the Independents, just in the proportion in which they dared to be candid and straightforward, would shew their chagrin at the Restoration, and their distrust and dislike of his sacred Majesty by moderating or minimizing the amount of their gifts. And just this we find to be the case, proved up to the hilt, by the *facts* and *figures furnished* by the *Clerical Subsidy*.

Arianism and the Exeter Assembly

THERE was a Devonshire association, suggested by the example of Richard Baxter, existing from October 18th, 1656, to May, 1659, and consisting of "the ministers of the Gospel in the countys of Devon and Exon." [*See* Shaw: *English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 160, 446 ff.]

In March, 1691, another association, having no direct connexion with the earlier one, arose under the name "The United Brethren of the city and county of Exon and county of Devon," or, more briefly, "the United Brethren of Exon and Devon." "In 1693 they ordered that a letter should be written inviting the Cornish ministers to join them, and from that time forward the title was 'The United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall.'" The Brethren also called themselves "The ministers of the Provincial Assembly," and later were spoken of as "The Dissenting ministers in the counties of Devon and Cornwall."[1] Practically this meant Presbyterians and Independents, the great majority being the former in name,[2] though tending to become the latter in fact. The promoters of the association, in a draft of its rules, stated as their object to "hold frequent meetings for mutual advice touching things pertaining to our office, the right ordering of our congregations, and the promotion of purity and unity in the Church of Christ." They expressed "a hearty willingness and desire that others of our Brethren . . . who are of godly life and *sound in the faith*" should join them. There was no thought of anything beyond mutual fellowship and admonition: "we will not meddle with or have the hearing of any differences untill such time as those who desire our advice shew a disposition to regard it and receive it peaceably." Nor was the universal concord aimed at intended "to prejudice what might hereafter be done by public authority in order to a more universal unity." We "profess that if an act of comprehension should be passed we shalbe ready to come in with it, so far as we are persuaded in our conscience we may do." Careful provision was made for the decorous ordering of the assembly. At each meeting a moderator and scribe were to be chosen. Some one to preach and another to pray at the next

[1] *A Record of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall*, by Priestly Prince, p. 7.

[2] Many of the old congregations marked Congregational in our *Year Book* would be described as Presbyterian or simply Dissenting congregations in 1691.

assembly, with substitutes in case of failure, were to be nominated. "Delegates" were to be appointed to prepare business for debate and maintain correspondence with other "meetings." No new matter was to be sprung on the assembly without due notice to the moderator in writing. None but united ministers were to be present, and none to withdraw unless by special leave of the assembly. Everyone was by word or sign to declare his actual assent, dissent or suspense of judgement in any action brought forward. A majority of votes was to be decisive, but the reasons of dissent by a minority were to be noted by the moderator and "debated either immediately or at another meeting as the majority should determine." Mr. Isaac Gilling of Newton Abbot seems to have been first scribe, and to have been re-appointed time after time; at any rate the earliest minutes were made by him down to 1717. Of the next few years (to 1721) there is no known record. Minutes of the September meeting of 1721 and the May meeting of 1722 are extant. Those for 1722 are missing. From May, 1723, to September, 1728, both inclusive, the minutes were kept, and have been preserved. None are forthcoming for the period down to May, 1733. Then for 10 years (September, 1733, to September, 1743, both inclusive) they re-appear and continue unbroken to the present time.

It is unfortunate that the eventful years 1717-1719 are a blank so far as regards the minutes. But they are not altogether a blank. The charge of Arianism against the three Exeter ministers: Messrs. Peirce, Withers and Hallet was raised in 1717. But it did not come up before the May assembly, and was not brought forward in that of September.[3] Neither was it brought forward in the following May. "When the assembly met in May, no mention was made of the controversy, but all things were carried peaceably and quietly; insomuch that I, as well as many others, concluded that the storm was over."[4] But in the September assembly of 1718 the storm burst. How it had been gathering in consequence of correspondence with London ministers, particularly on the part of Mr. Walrond of Ottery St. Mary, is described by Mr. Peirce,[5] who also describes those proceedings before, during and after the assembly which led up to the expulsion of himself and Mr. Hallet[6] from their meeting-house on March 8th, 1719. The outcome of much heated debate according to Mr. Peirce was this:

> "The scribe . . . was required to write the following words, which were dictated to him by Mr. Lavington[7]: "Tis the general sense of this Assembly, *That there is but one living*

[3] James Peirce's *Western Inquisition*, p. 47.

[4] id., p. 65.

[5] id., p. 68, 69, &c.

[6] Mr. Withers made a timely subscription to the 1st Article of the Church of England.

[7] Peirce's younger colleague and zealous opponent.

and true God; and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are the one God."

This general sense appeared to be the sense of about two to one, or perhaps rather more.[8] By May, 1719, "Advices" had been received from London. Of these there were two sets. One was signed at Salters' Hall on March 10th by 73 ministers "of the three Denominations in and about the City of London." The other was signed by 61, (apparently) on April 6th. But the latter was accompanied by another paper setting forth a "Declaration of Faith in the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures." This contained a double subscription, first to Article I of the Church of England, then to "the answer to the fifth and sixth questions in the Assembly's Catechism." It was signed on March 3rd (at Salters' Hall) and the signatures were 78. Both papers, Advices and Declaration, were sent to the Committee of Thirteen Gentlemen who controlled affairs at Exeter, along with a letter commending both as suitable to their "unhappy circumstances."[9] The gentlemen answered gratefully on April 11th but intimated that they had already taken action.

"The *Violence* and *Artifice* wherewith the attempts against the ever blessed Trinity were carried on, and the strange progress it had of late made, especially among the *Youth* here, *necessitated* us to proceed with that *Expedition*, to prevent many *ill-consequences* that we were in fear of."

Their action was confirmed by the assembly of May. Here the majority "went one better" than their brethren of London. They subscribed their names to *three* declarations, the third being the September formula. Then, adding a long "Letter of Advice to the people of their respective congregations, etc., to adhere stedfastly to the received doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity," they issued the whole in a printed "Account."

But the "Account" does not shew itself quite ingenuous. For it conveys an impression of unanimity which did not exist. It says nothing of the 19 dissentients, headed by Hallett, Peirce and Gilling, surely a considerable minority as against 45 on the other side.

From 1719, if not before, strict orthodoxy became a *sine qua non* of ordination. In September, 1721, *e.g.* Mr. Adams, along with Mr. White, professed his faith in the Trinity and was therefore requested to pray at the next assembly. But, the day after, "he joined in public worship" with some suspected people, and when brought to book about his conduct at the next assembly (May, 1722) he "publicly justified" its "lawfulness." So the assembly (out of a tender concern for the purity of public worship) revoked

[8] id., p. 107.

[9] The letter was signed by 10 of the leaders.

"their order of the last assembly by which he was appointed to pray."[10]

In September, 1723, again, the minute runs: "Mr. Green, before he was desired to preach, did freely give an account of his Faith in the manner following, *viz.*, I believe that there is but one living and true God and that the Father, Son and Spirit are y^t^ God, and farther he declar'd y^t^ this Faith he would defend." In September, 1724 "Mr. Giffard proposing his ordination" his request was granted, but only after it had been declared by Mr. Enty that he accepted the "September formula" and also in his own words rejected any approach to Arian worship. In May, 1725, "Mr. George Denbury, being come to reside in these parts where he may in time have occasion for the Recommendation of this Assembly, Mr. Ball proposed whether it mayn't be expedient that Mr. Denbury be desir'd to declare his statements concerning the doctrine of ever-blessed Trinity." The assembly agreed and Mr. Denbury complied by repeating the "September formula" with the addition: "That the same worship y^t^ is due to the Father is due to the Son and the Holy Ghost." His reward was to be "desir'd to pray the next assembly." At the same assembly Mr. Evans, lately chosen for Modbury, had to assent "to what Mr. Tillard had declar'd the last assembly" before his request for ordination could be entertained. Stranger still is the following of the same date: "Mr. Pitts[11] of this city being in the assembly and signifying that he design'd to preach in these parts for some time, 'twas propos'd y^t^ he be desir'd to give an acc^t^ of his Faith concerning the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity. To this Mr. Pitts freely consented and declar'd in these words, viz. "That he believes there is but one God and that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are this one God. And farther he declared that this is a Doctrine that he thinks to be of the greatest Importance (viz) That 'tis very Dangerous to worship a creature and also not to pay Divine Worship to the Son and Holy Spirit."

In September, 1725, "a motion being made y^t^ Mr. Richd Jones (who lately came into this County) give satisfaction to this assembly touching his Faith in the ever blessed Trinity, he thereupon declar'd that he believes that there is a God, and but one, and y^t^ there are three Persons in the Godhead, Father, Son and Spirit, one in essence or substance, and y^t^ this is a Doctrine of Great Importance to the Christian Religion."

In September, 1762, "Mr. Gillespie designing to settle in these parts hath produc'd a Certificate of his Ministerial Qualifications sign'd by the Rev^d^ Mr. Thomas Perrot of Carmarthen and the Rev^d^ Mr. Robt. Whitare of Swansea, and hath likewise declar'd to the Assembly as follows (viz) I believe that there is but one God

[10] Prince, p. 26.

[11] Aaron Pitts, ordained Dec. 12th, 1732.

and that the Father, Son and Spirit are this one God, and y^t^ the same Honour wch is due to the Father is equally due to the Son and Spirit."

In May, 1727, the candidates for ordination have to pass the same test and Mr. Denbury (who passed it two years ago) comes up again, evidently under a cloud. But "having afresh renew'd his confession of his firm believing the Doctrine of the Trininty we declar'd ourselves satisfy'd that he is no Arian."

In September, 1727, two other cases occur, and in September, 1728, Mr. Gillespie, before ordination, is obliged to declare "that as to his Faith concerning the Doctrine of the ever Blessed Trinity he was of the same sentiments as when he declar'd his Faith to this assembly when he first came into the county."

Here the minutes break off for five years, but there is no reason to suppose that the assembly's watch-dog vigilance relaxed. At length, however, mainly through the agency of Mr. Micaiah Towgood (Exeter) there came a time (May, 1753) when it was decided by 14 votes to 9 *not* to debate the following question: "Whether the assembly shall recommend any candidate to ordination who will not declare his faith in the Deity of the Son and the Holy Ghost." At the same assembly Mr. Sam Lavington[12] (perhaps grandson of Mr. Peirce's colleague) made the familiar declaration that "he believed ye Father, Son and Holy Ghost to be one God." But, if we may trust later references, this was the last of the test.

List I

Pastors and ordained ministers who, on May 5th and 6th, 1719, subscribed "a voluntary declaration of their faith concerning the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity as revealed in the Holy Scriptures," after the manner of the London subscribing ministers (on March 3rd) *i.e.* to the first article of the Church of England and the answers to the fifth and sixth questions of the Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*; or else (generally and concurrently) to the collective sense of the last (September) assembly, *viz.*: "That there is one living and true God, and that the Father, Word, and Holy Ghost are that one God."

Nath(aniel) Harding, Modr. Plymouth (1690-1744)
ordained Aug. 27, 1690 died Feb. 23, 1744)
Tho(mas) Edgley, Scribe. Totness
ordained June 20, 1700 died Feb. 2, 1722
William Horsham. Topsham
ordained Nov. 24, 1687 died May 22, 1725

[12] Ordained July 7th.

Jacob Sandercock. Tavistock (1688-1729)
ordained May 1, 1688 died Dec. 24, 1729
Samuel Wood. Hartinton
ordained May 1, 1688 died May 5, 1725
Thomas Walsh (or Welsh). Stokenham
ordained April 2, 1690 died Nov. 1729
John Rosewell. Colyton (1705-1707)
ordained Dec. 31, 1690 died 1707
Samuel Hall. Tiverton
ordained Jan. 23, 1691 died Jan. 23, 1729
John Moore. Tiverton
ordained July 29, 1691 died Aug. 25, 1730
Deliverance Larkham. Exeter (previously Launceston)
ordained Aug. 20, 1691 died March 1722
John Powell
ordained May 13, 1693 died 1721
Jacob Baylis (or ies)
ordained May 30, 1693
Richard Evans. Collumpton (1698-1743)
ordained Aug. 16, 1694 died July, 1743
Michael Martyn. Lympstone (—1728), came from and returned to Launceston
ordained Aug. 1694 died Aug. 9, 1745
Peter Kellow. Torrington
ordained Dec. 11, 1695 died Jan., 1731
John Ball. Honiton (1705-1745)
ordained Jan. 20, 1695 died May 6, 1745
Sellinger Symonds. N. Bow
ordained March 18, 1695 died April 28, 1724
John Enty. Plymouth (1696-1720). Exeter (1720-1743)
ordained May 11, 1698 died Nov. 26, 1743
John Walrond. Ottery St. Mary. Exeter (1729-1755)
ordained June 16, 1698 died Oct. 4, 1755
William Giles. Modbury
ordained Oct. 2, 1700
Andrew Majendie. Dartmouth
ordained Sept. 8, 1701
George Bowcher. Barnstaple (1718—). Warminster (1701-1718)
ordained Oct. 16, 1701 died Jan., 1756
Samuel Short. Colyton
ordained Oct. 16, 1701 died April, 1726
Henry Atkins. Puddington
ordained Oct. 16, 1701 died Dec., 1742
Josiah Eveleigh. Crediton (1702-1736)
ordained Aug. 6, 1702 died Sept. 9, 1736

John Sloby? (Stoley? Stoly?). Silverton
ordained Aug. 6, 1702 died May 23, 1749
John Hughes. Dartmouth
ordained Aug. 6, 1702 died May, 1726
Penuel Symonds
died 1733
William Bartlet
ordained Nov. 11, 1702 died Sept. 28, 1720
Peter Baron. Plymouth (1704-1759)
ordained July 19, 1704 died 1759
Richard Glanvil. Liskard, Cornwall
ordained Aug. 9, 1705 died March, 1748
Robert Wood. Luppit (3 miles from Honiton)
ordained Aug. 9, 1705
William Palk. Sidmouth
Ordained Oct. 17, 1705
Benjamin Wills. Appledore
ordained Oct. 17, 1705 died Oct. 25, 1747
Jonathan Wheeler. Tiverton
ordained Nov. 14, 1705 died Oct. 2, 1723
Samuel Stoddon. Budleigh
ordained Dec. 26, 1706 died 1755
Henry Brett. Assistant to Mr. N. Harding, 1707-1723
ordained Aug. 10, 1707 died January, 1724
Hugh Brown. Stoke
ordained April 8, 1708 died May, 1748
Eliezer Hancock. South Moulton
ordained Aug. 23, 1710 died June, 1757
Benjamin Flavell
ordained Aug. 23, 1710
Isaac Clerk (Clark?). Sidbury or Sudbury, nr. Sidmouth
ordained April 4, 1711 died March 18, 1721
Cornelius Bond. Ashburton
ordained July 7, 1711
Alexander Walker. Kingsbridge
ordained July 7, 1711
Edward Colton. King's Carswell or Keswel, nr. Newton Bushell
ordained July 7, 1711
John Lavington. Exeter (1715-1759)
ordained Oct. 19, 1715
46 John Coplestone
ordained Nov. 19, 1718

In a P.S. it is said that Mr. Withers (Exeter), though not at the meeting, has since assented to the 1st Article of the Church of England, and that Mr. Edward Colton, though he dissented at the

meeting, has since written to Mr. Enty expressing a desire to sign. Other ordained ministers not present but assenting are :—

Theophilus (or Thomas) Tingcomb. Talvans? nr. St. Germans, Cornwall
ordained 1662 died Nov. 11, 1719

Edward Bishop. Up Ottery
ordained June 13, 1688

Daniel Kellow. Foway al Foy, Cornwall
ordained Aug. 23, 1694 died Feb. 5, 1721

Angel Spark(e). Moreton Hampstead (1692-1721)
ordained June 21, 1692 died Oct., 1721

Joseph Man(s)ton. Lymston or Woodbury, between Topsham and Exmouth
ordained March 30, 1703 died April, 1720

Jasper How. Penryn (and Falmouth), Cornwall
ordained June, 1704

Robert Gough. St. Ives, Cornwall
ordained July 7, 1708 died June, 1727

John Edwards (Edmonds?) Plympton
ordained June 18, 1713

John Cudmore (Cadmore?) Loo, Cornwall

List II

Names of those who refused to subscribe "according to the vote of the Assembly," but subscribed (on May 6) a paper of protest against the charge of Arianism.

Joseph Hallet. Exeter (1690-1722)
ordained 1683 died Nov., 1722

Isaac Gilling. Newton Abbot or (and) Newton Bushell
ordained Aug. 25, 1687 died Aug. 21, 1725

James Peirce. Exeter (1713-1726)
ordained 1699 died March 30, 1726

John Cox. Kingsbridge. ejected 1719
ordained Aug. 6, 1702 died 1754

Mat(thew) Huddy. Penzance, Cornwall
ordained July 19, 1704 died 1728

Roger Beadon. Budleigh, nr. Sidmouth, ejected 1719
ordained July 21, 1709

Samuel Carkeet. Totnes
ordained July 19, 1710 died June 17, 1746

Samuel Adams. Chudleigh
ordained June 18, 1713 died July, 1731

John Parr. Okehampton
ordained July 20, 1715

Joseph Hallet, jr. Exeter. (1722-1744)
ordained Sept. 28, 1725 died Apr. 2, 1744
James How
ordained Oct. 19, 1725
John Force. Bovey Tracey, nr. Chudleigh
ordained July 27, 1717 died July 27, 1728
Nathanael Cock. Bideford
ordained Oct. 24, 1716

N.B.—"One name is here left out at the desire of the subscriber," "he having since submitted to subscribe the assembly's paper." This was Mr. Colton (see *P.S.* to List I, and *An Answer*, Mr. Peirce's *Western Inquisition*, p. 28.)

Thomas Hornbrook. Liskard, Cornwall
George Jacomb (not yet ordained)
John Starr
John Fox (licensed but not placed)
Mark Facy
19 John Forse

The first of the above lists is taken from an authorised "account of what was transacted in the assembly of Exon"; and the second, from Peirce's "Remarks" upon this "account" (p. 38). But for the particulars added to the names I have had to seek elsewhere.

Attention may be drawn to the youth of the minority (with two exceptions) as compared with the advanced age of the majority.

The last six (of the second list) were probably candidates. George Jacomb appears in the "account" as a rejected candidate on account of his refusal to subscribe the declaration.[13] Hornbrook succeeded Richard Glanvil at Liskard in Cornwall, and was still there in 1728. None of the others seems to have settled. John Fox, of Plymouth, had been licensed to preach in 1717. He was one of the youths at Mr. Hallet's academy in Exeter, who had read and talked themselves into something like Arianism even before Mr. Peirce came in 1713, the tutor's son being their leader. But his examiners "did not press him on the subject of the Trinity."[14] So he passed for orthodox and "preached several times at Plymouth." His conscience, however, gained the upper hand. He never sought a church, and gave up all thought of the ministry in 1723. At a later time he wrote his "memoirs" (see *Monthly Repository*, vol. xvi),[15] and says of the suspected minority that they were left to preach "to the poor remains of a few broken congregations, which had good nature and charity enough to stand by their ministers whose reputation, interest, and usefulness were absolutely ruined by the

[13] He was afterwards ordained apart from the assembly, see *Western Inquisition*, p. 184.

[14] His father was one of Mr. Harding's important people, and managed to secure examiners "friendly disposed."

[15] The MS. is in the Cornwall Street Library, Plymouth. (Prince, p. 24.)

rage, aspersions, and violence of the other party." Old Mr. Gilling's[16] case specially affected him. To have been cast out by the assembly which he had fostered with "notorious attachment" and whose meetings "he always attended with great punctuality" was a crushing blow. And when to this was added the disruption of his church at Newton Abbot, and the setting up of a new meeting-house, the experience "stuck" so "close to him" that it "broke his heart."[17] A narrative published by Peirce (*Western Inquisition*, pp. 182-5) bears out what Fox says and adds he "is exposed to the contempt and hatred of the mob and labours under a load of malicious and groundless calumnies."[18]

Other narratives (also published by Peirce) relating to John Cox, of Kingsbridge; John Forer, of Bovey Tracey; and Nathanael Cock, of Bideford, disclose the same spirit of persecuting intolerance. Peirce's own case was equally hard and brought him to an early grave.

FRED. J. POWICKE

[16] He was Fox's uncle and father-in-law.

[17] He died in 1725 and his "remains were altogether refused interment." Worth's *History of Nonconformity in Plymouth*, p. 29.

[18] The narrative is dated July 30, 1719, and was written rom the spot.

St. Mary's Chapel, Broadstairs

[From the Collections of the late J. Watkinson, Esq.]

THE occupancy by a Congregational church of a building erected for ecclesiastical purposes before the Reformation is so exceptional as to invite recognition in the *Transactions* of our Historical Society. Such an edifice is "The Chapel of our Lady of Bradstow," *i.e.*, Broadstairs: a quaint old fashioned flint building situated in a narrow lane off Albion Street. Obscure as its location is today, it was formerly a conspicuous landmark; it stood parallel with and open to the present Harbour Street, which was merely a cut or gap through the cliff, and there were no buildings of importance between it and the North Foreland, so that mariners in coasting the dangerous shores of East Kent had for miles a clear view of the sacred edifice. Very sacred indeed it was esteemed, for it contained an image of the Blessed Virgin to which miraculous powers were ascribed, and seamen were accustomed to shew their respect for the Virgin by lowering their sails as they passed it. Moreover it was a place of pilgrimage; there is a legend that in the fifteenth century two sisters, being on their way thither by sea from Faversham, were wrecked at Reculvers; one of them was drowned and the other, as a thank-offering for her preservation, built the twin towers —called "the two sisters"—which graced the ancient but now ruined church of Reculvers.

Of the chapel at Bradstow between 1500 and

S. MARY'S
CHAPEL
1661

1600 nothing is certainly known. It is believed, however, that it had become ruinous, that dwelling-houses were constructed with part of the materials, and that the remainder, still called "the chapel," somehow became the private property of the Culmer family, who for 400 years were the principal landholders in this parish.

The Culmers were early devoted to the Puritan cause. One of them, Richard, having been persecuted by Laud, became a fanatical iconoclast, and has the reputation of having destroyed most of the painted glass in Canterbury cathedral, where he was one of the "six preachers" during the Commonwealth. However, it was not he who restored St. Mary's chapel to its legitimate use. The date 1601 appears on the building, and it is believed that this indicates the time when it was first fitted up for Protestant worship. No annals are accessible, but it is certain that, so long as the building was under the control of the Culmer family, whatever worship was conducted there would be on Puritan lines.

No mention is made of Broadstairs in either the Return of Conventicles, 1669, or in any of the licence documents, 1672. But toward the end of the century several of the residents were members of the dissenting congregation at Ramsgate, then nominally Presbyterian, but reconstituted on Congregational lines in 1696. One of these was Mr. Josiah Culmer, who in 1691 fitted up or refitted the old chapel of St. Mary. Its inward aspect must then have been interesting. We are told of a little pulpit in the north-east corner, so high that it was with difficulty that a tall person could stand erect in it. The large chimney place, Elizabethan high-backed chairs, and rude wooden forms were all in keeping with the exterior of the building. On the western wall were inscriptions

in large church-text characters, consisting of passages of scripture, some verses by Richard Baxter ("Christ leads me through no darker rooms, &c."), and a rhyming version of the ten Commandments, followed by

> " These sacred words in these ten lines
> Are strings of pearls and golden mines,
> Or Heaven transcribed, wherein, no doubt,
> God's mind to man is opened out;
> Bless God, my soul, that thus hath given
> On this thy pilgrimage to Heaven,
> Such sight and guidance; but withall
> Bless God for Christ, that kept them all.
> Refuse not that which conscience bids thee chuse,
> And chuse not that which conscience says, refuse."

There were also these couplets:

> Believing soul, consider this,
> Death is the portal into bliss.
> Blessed, O blessed are the dead
> That in the Lord do die;
> Thus hath the Spirit witnessed,
> And most assuredly.
> But God who doth our rising day foresee,
> Pities not rotten flesh so much as we.

These inscriptions, having become much defaced, were obliterated by a coat of whitewash in 1797, but were fortunately put on record in the *Protestant Dissenters' Magazine* of that year.

Among the records of the Ramsgate church in 1700 is an entry of payments for the "hire of a horse to Broadstairs lecture"; and throughout the century, if not beyond its close, there was preaching with more or less regularity by or under the direction of the ministers of Ramsgate. When or under what circumstances it was discontinued does not appear.

In 1825 Mrs. John Goodwin, the then owner, decided to repair and enlarge the chapel for the accommodation of visitors and others. It was re-opened on Friday, 11th July, 1828, the preachers

being the Rev. H. Townley, late of Calcutta, and the Rev. T. Young of Margate ; Messrs. Townsend of Ramsgate, Rybolt of Margate, Harris of Epsom, and Aston of Buckingham took part in the services. The Rev. Joseph Paul, from Chinnor, Oxfordshire, undertook the pastoral charge, and during his ministry the liturgy of the Anglican Church was used. He removed, apparently, about 1837 or-8. There is mention made of a re-opening of the chapel on 8th March, 1837, and on 19th December, 1838, the Rev. J. Chapman was received into the District Association as "Pastor of St. Mary's, Broadstairs." He is understood to have been a minister of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and to have exercised a useful ministry. We next find the name of H. D. Jameson, for several years following 1846. No particulars of his work are recorded ; he may probably be identified with a minister of that name who was at Steeple Bumstead, Essex, from about 1858 onward.

Mrs. Goodwin died in 1825, and her nephew and executor executed a deed placing the chapel under the care of Ebenezer church, Ramsgate, but with a proviso that if the pulpit were not supplied for a prescribed time the premises should revert to the grantor. This contingency occurred, but again we have no account of the circumstances, only that for a time the building was used as a reading-room. At length, in the summer of 1867, it was placed at the disposal of the Kent Congregational Association, and once more re-opened on 8th December of that year, the Rev. H. W. Butcher of Margate being the preacher. Two years of quiet progress under a dispensation of supplies encouraged a determination to obtain a settled minister, and to build a church in a more suitable situation. The minister was found in the person

of the Rev. Augustus Frederick Bennett, from Fulbourn, Cambs., whose interesting "life story" is too full of remarkable incidents to be summarized here. A building committee was formed, a convenient site was given by T. Henson, Esq. (the father of Dean Henson of Durham), the memorial stone was laid by Sir Charles Reed, F.S.A., on 13th April, 1871, and in due time the present "Vale" church was dedicated to the worship and service of God. Mr. Bennett retired in 1887, and died at St. Leonard's, 18th July, 1894, aged 68 years. His successors have been the

Revs.	F. J. Eccleston,	1887—8,
	David H. Rees,	1889—94,
	Sidney Milledge,	1894—96,
	Thos. W. Ingram,	1896—1903.
	W. Muncaster,	1904—

The ancient chapel is used as a mission-room under the direction of the Vale church.

Puritanism in Wharfedale

WHERE Wharfe joins Ouse there stand the unimposing ruins of Cawood Castle. It was once the favourite residence of the Archbishops of York, and there it was that Cardinal Wolsey was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland on a charge of high treason. In the early dusk of a November evening he started on the journey which was never completed. The sympathetic chronicler says that outside the Castle gate the country-folk assembled to the number of 3,000, and crying "God save your Grace" ran after him through the little town, for "they loved him so well." In the gathering darkness he rode on to Pomfret. Broken in fortune, and health, and spirit, he was a dying man when, a few weeks later, he reached Leicester Abbey. If his faithful servant and biographer, George Cavendish, may be trusted, almost the last words of his message to the king were a solemn warning against the spread of "the pernicious sect of the Lutherans as harmful to the royal authority and destructive of the order of the realm."

A century later Protestantism, not in its Lutheran but in its sterner Calvinistic form, had overspread England and reached our remote Yorkshire dales. But in twenty years more reaction has set in; the political power of Puritanism is broken, and in 1662 the undistinguished Puritan minister of Cawood parish has to retire from church and vicarage, probably to the sincere regret of the people if without the demonstrations of grief which marked the departure of the famous cardinal.

Between these two points, the fall of Wolsey and the English St. Bartholomew, lie some of the most stirring events of British history, and at the heart of most of them was a spiritual motive and movement. When King Henry's greater daughter died, Puritanism was already a religious force of remarkable potency. According to an Anglican writer "religious England, outwardly Catholic, was inwardly Puritan. The best, the purest, the noblest of Elizabeth's heroes were Puritans. The more energetic of the two Universities was steeped in Puritanism. The most typical poet of the Elizabethan age was a Puritan"; and the strength of this early Puritanism, according to Wakeman, "lay in two great principles, the insistence upon the personal relation between God and man, and the hatred of professional religion."

In this brief paper I cannot search into the origins or follow the progress of this great movement. I wish simply to point out certain phases of it which long residence in a Yorkshire dale led me to study. For it is noteworthy that Puritanism was not confined to the cities and larger towns, but penetrated and permeated the rural districts, including our Yorkshire dales, and found many of its leaders among the country gentry. I have not been able to ascertain to what extent the *people* of Wharfedale were Puritan. Very few Nonconformist meeting-houses were built in this district during the 17th century. It was not till the time of Wesley, whose visits were so frequent and so fruitful, that churches and societies outside of the establishment became numerous. Rural Yorkshire, especially north of the Aire, is still to a great extent Methodist. But chapel-building was not the chief mark of progress during the years when progress was most rapid, and the strength of early Puritanism is not to be measured

by the number of Separatist congregations. On the other hand, the evidences of Puritan influence especially of the Presbyterian type are clear, and they are scarcely less numerous in the dales than in rising towns like Leeds, Bradford and Halifax.

Take the prominent families in the middle of the 17th century. In Wharfedale the Fairfaxes were supreme. They dominated this part of Yorkshire to an extraordinary extent. From Denton to Nun-Appleton, across the Ainsty of York, and in the northern capital itself this pushful clan made its power felt, and on the whole its political and religious sympathies were Puritan. The Dyneleys of Bramhope, the Rawdons of Rawdon, the Arthingtons of Arthington, the Gunters of Healaugh, the Huttons of Poppleton were Puritan. They were men of ability, culture and public spirit; well educated, especially according to the Miltonic standard: "I call that a complete and generous education which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnaminously all the offices both public and private of peace and war."

I doubt whether England has ever produced a finer type of Christian manhood than the Puritan gentleman of the 17th century. His piety was deep and sincere. I think religion was more in the minds of men, a greater fact in their lives, than it has ever been since. There was cant, no doubt, especially when Puritanism became predominant, but, for the most part, the supreme interest in religion, and the association of it with all the affairs of life, was genuine. The first Lord Fairfax, irascible, pugnacious, ambitious, with the blood of a fighting race in his veins, compiles his book of prayers for private use. His grandson, after his breach with Cromwell, retires to Nun-Appleton, enjoys the Wharfeside garden which Andrew Marvell has made famous, keeps up the Fairfax

tradition in his well appointed stables, collects old books and pictures, reads the classics, and renders the Psalms into English verse. If the latter lack the literary grace of those that Philip Sidney and his sister wrote in retirement when weary of "false, fine courtly pleasures," they have genuine feeling. They are the often rugged lines of a soldier, whose chief work for England had been on the battlefield, and in these stormy days we understand better than we once did the fascination those ancient Hebrew Psalms had for the fighting Puritans of the 17th century. Fairfax has not the fervour and depth of Cromwell or Vane; he is not an enthusiast or mystic; but on that very account, perhaps, he is a better representative of his class. The free use of religious phraseology is not the one test of religious feeling; the remarkable reserve of to-day is not entirely due to indifference. But the place of God in the letters and conversations and speeches of 17th century men does seem to me to indicate God's place in their thought and life.

Next to this, and inseparable from it, was their sense of honour. These men reverenced their conscience as their king, and like their great poet, worked ever "in the great Taskmaster's eye." Perhaps this was too exclusively their thought of God, but it made strong men loyal to what they believed to be duty, cost what it might. Their calling and election "was to service, no less than to privilege, and they had to make it sure." The demands conscience made upon them were imperious. The separations caused by this great conflict were tragic. Men who had met in the hunting field and in the local courts, and whose families had intermarried, found themselves in opposite camps, and engaged in mortal combat on Marston Moor and Naseby Field, and one of them

could write to another in terms like these : "My affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person, but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. . . . . the God of peace in His own good time send us peace, and in the meantime fit us to receive it. We are both on the stage and we must act our parts that are assigned to us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour and without personal animosities." [Sir Wm. Waller to Sir Ralph Hopton.]

There is little difference of opinion among competent historians as to the rival policies of Cromwell and Fairfax which led to the latter's withdrawal from public life on the eve of Cromwell's victorious Scottish campaign. The step which Cromwell took was justified by events, but I have no doubt as to the conscientiousness of Fairfax's action. At the close of their conference he said : "What my conscience yields unto as just and lawful, I shall follow, and what seems to me otherwise I will not do . . . . Every man must stand or fall by his own conscience."

Another mark of these Wharfedale Puritans was respect for learning, and a passion for its advancement. They desired, especially, a thoroughly educated ministry. A member of the Fairfax family in whom I am interested was Henry, an uncle of the Parliamentary general. He was a clergyman and held livings at Newton-Kyme and Bolton-Percy, and for a time at Ashton-under-Lyne. Calamy places him on the list of the ejected 2,000. As a matter of fact, however, he retired in 1660, having fallen under suspicion because of his well known Puritan sympathies, and being then advanced in years. He was an amiable, devout, scholarly, large-hearted man, ready to assist the distressed, to whatever party

they belonged. When at Ashton, about 1640, he was a chief promoter of the scheme for founding a Northern University at Manchester. In the voluminous "Fairfax correspondence" there are some extremely interesting letters addressed by this Ashton rector to the then head of the family at Denton urging him to use his influence on behalf of the scheme. Puritan Lancashire had already been zealous in establishing grammar schools in the county, and now, some two hundred years before Owens College was founded, enlightened citizens and county magnates are holding public meetings in Manchester, passing resolutions, obtaining promises of financial support, and facing the opposition of the old Universities. The reasons they give for their action are interesting, and what is most suggestive in the correspondence is the emphasis laid on the benefits that would accrue to the Church. The religious motive was at the back of this enterprise, as indeed of almost every great movement in the 17th century. The promoters urged that "owing to the distance of the old Universities many ignorant and unlearned ministers had been obtruded on the Church, thrust upon country livings without degrees and without University training." "We have great hope" they said "that from the new University may issue able and learned men, laborious pastors and teachers, to convince and discourage Papists and other superstitious people who for want of able scholars daily take growth and increase to the great hindrance of piety and true religion,"

Unfortunately, the ancient hostility of the Roses made this a thorny question for Lord Ferdinando Fairfax to handle. York, jealous of its reputation as the capital of the North, set up rival claims and prepared its rival petitions. It pleaded among other advantages the possession of a printing

press, and the benefit of a library "some time the most famous in Europe but burnt" (I suppose only in part) "about the time the University of Paris was founded." (So said the petitioners.) They must have been indulging in a little irony when they urged further that "having been looked upon as a rude and almost barbarous people," in comparison with the favoured dwellers round Oxford and Cambridge, the establishment of a University in their midst might be the means of "removing the stain of rudeness and incivility from them, and rendering them, to the honour of God and the kingdom, not much inferior to others in religion and conversation." This tone of humility, if sincere, is unusual in Yorkshiremen !

The Long Parliament, however, was busy with other matters, and both the Manchester and York petitions seem to have met with a fate common to such documents. Some seventeen years later Cromwell attempted to establish a Northern University at Durham, but the scheme fell to the ground, probably owing to the Protector's death. It is interesting to note that one of the men nominated for the professorial staff at Durham was Richard Frankland, who started and carried on our first Yorkshire college for the training of Nonconformist ministers,

Puritan ministers of the earlier period were, with very few exceptions, University men, and when the Universities closed their doors Puritans made heroic efforts to give candidates for the ministry as thorough a training as possible. What was expected of them at an ordination service is proof that they must have had a pretty strenuous time at college. At the first recorded service of this kind in Yorkshire the candidate, or "expectant" as he was called, was one Richard Thorpe, a member of a well known West-Riding family.

The officiating ministers were Oliver Heywood, Richard Frankland and others. Some of the young man's statements on the subject of justification did not quite satisfy the critical mind of Principal Frankland, and there was a short amicable dispute" ("short and amicable" I suppose according to Puritan measurement of time and estimate of temper). But the expectant "positioned" on a given theme in Latin at such length and with such ability that there was no further question as to his fitness for ministerial office. This prolonged ordination service with its examination in the "fundamentals" and its Latin oration must have been a severe ordeal. Certainly Puritanism did not depreciate scholarship.

The Puritanism of Wharfedale, so far as I can ascertain, was mainly of the moderate Presbyterian type. Independents and Baptists do not appear to have made much way there. In Lancashire, according to Joseph Hunter, there was scarcely a middle party between Presbyterians and Papists. In Yorkshire there was greater variety, but, except in the Parliamentary army, Presbyterians were in the majority, and it is well to bear in mind that throughout the Civil War the term "Independent" is the designation of a party rather than of an organised religious denomination. Dr. Dale has emphasised this point in his *History of Congregationalism*. Independents were many when "gathered" Congregational churches were very few. It was the "Act of Uniformity" which drove and drew people into separatist communities, and the Act of Toleration which housed them.

It is difficult to fix Fairfax's theological and ecclesiastical position, and I cannot say that I regret it. Would it not be at least as difficult to label his great contemporary Milton? Probably

we shall not be far wrong if we describe Fairfax as a moderate Presbyterian. In his wish for toleration, however, he was in sympathy with Cromwell and Vane and Milton, and hence is sometimes classed with the Independents. He had, moreover, a certain breadth of view which distinguished him from many of his contemporaries. He was no iconoclast. He valued the beautiful in art, the stately and venerable in architecture. It is said that when he was in military authority at Oxford its colleges and churches and library were safer than during the Royalist occupation, and the famous Dodsworth collection at the Bodleian was probably his gift.

There is no difficulty, however, in classifying Lord Fairfax's strong-minded lady. She was a true-blue Presbyterian. She gave proof of her courage by her famous outburst in Westminster Hall when King Charles was tried. She hated Cromwell with a perfect hatred, and Dr. Gardiner thinks she was actually guilty of betraying some of her husband's military secrets to the King. For the most part, however, she seems to have been a brave and faithful wife, sharing many of the hardships and perils of war. and taking a keen interest both in the political and religious movements of the time. At Nun-Appleton she delighted in gathering round her Presbyterian divines of eminence, and all three members of the Fairfax family, including Andrew Marvell's pupil Moll, sat in mute reverence taking notes of their sermons.

GEO. SHAW BRIGGS

[*To be continued*]

Thomas Hall of King's Norton

AMONG Puritans of the narrower and more rigid type, an honourable place is due to Thomas Hall of King's Norton. Our information concerning him is derived partly from his own writings, partly from a brief memoir by Richard Moore of Withall, published in 1674, partly from the "Nonconformists' Memorial," and partly from a report drawn up for the Archaeological section of the Midland Institute, Birmingham.

Thomas Hall was born at Worcester on 22nd July, 1610. His father, Richard Hall, was a clothier in that city; his mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John Bonner, a London merchant of good family, but whether related to the notorious Bishop Bonner is uncertain. Thomas had two brothers: John, who became vicar of Bromsgrove and father of Bishop Hall of Bristol, and Edmund, who was a captain in the Parliamentary army, afterwards minister of Chipping Norton, and later vicar of Great Risington, Gloucestershire. Thomas received his early education at the King's School, Worcester. He matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1624, but soon removed to Pembroke College (formerly Broadgates Hall), then presided over by Dr. Thomas Lushington, whom he calls "my wicked and godless tutor." This epithet was in all likelihood provoked by Dr. L.'s heterodoxy, for Moore speaks of his principles as "poisonous," and his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, published in 1646, appears to be tinged with Socinianism.

Hall commenced B.A. in 1628, and on leaving the University held a mastership in Warwick grammar school. Our authorities are decidedly hazy as to dates in this period of his life, but it seems certain that his spiritual awakening took place after he had left Oxford, and was followed by his ordination. His elder brother having become vicar of Bromsgrove, he was appointed by him to the curacy of King's Norton (about five miles from Birmingham), which is annexed to that benefice. The great tithes being impropriate, the stipend of the curate was very small; Hall therefore undertook the mastership of the free school. This school was formerly conducted by the clergy of a chantry in the neighbouring church, which being dissolved in 1547 the school was continued with a greatly reduced endowment. Hall is said to have resided for ten years at Moseley (about half-way between King's Norton and Birmingham), "probably under the protection

of Sir Richard Grevis of Moseley Hall." This would be a convenient arrangement, for soon after the meeting of the Long Parliament the Rev. Samuel Wills became rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham, and Hall assisted him in the capacity of lecturer. He was indefatigable in preaching, and his pastoral labours are highly commended. As a convinced Presbyterian he welcomed the Solemn League and Covenant, to which he subscribed at the same time as the rector of St. Martin's. During the civil war he was much persecuted and worried, both by soldiers and sectaries,, and was several times imprisoned, no doubt by the Royalists, as he is no where mentioned by Walker. On the establishment of the Presbyterian Order he was a member of the classis of Kenilworth. He had offers of substantial preferment, but declined them all, believing that it was his duty to remain where his ministry was evidently fruitful. A great lover of books, he assisted in founding the library of the Birmingham grammar school, to which he gave a valuable Polyglott Bible, and obtained several similar benefactions from his friends, of whom Richard Baxter was one.

A competent scholar, Hall had passed his fortieth year before he ventured on the field of authorship. His first published book, *The Pulpit Guarded*, was against the practice of lay preaching, which was favoured by the Independents, and greatly disliked by the majority of the Presbyterians. Thenceforward he produced on an average one book a year till the end of his life. Several of these, however, are of such a bulk and character as to represent the work of many former studious years. He graduated B.D. in 1652.

In 1653 there were serious apprehensions lest the "Little" or "Barbones" Parliament should anticipate the programme of the modern "Liberation Society," and invite the Church to put to a practical test the sufficiency of the voluntary principle. The Presbyterians were seriously alarmed, and Baxter presented a Worcestershire "Petition for retention of tithes and a settled ministry." This Hall signed as a matter of course, but he withheld his signature from the "Agreement of the associated pastors and churches of Worcestershire" promoted by Baxter in the same year.

Like most of the Presbyterian clergy, Hall welcomed the Restoration, and (if we may judge by expressions in his latest book) accepted at their face value the hypocritical professions of piety with which the second Charles befooled the unsuspecting. When it was becoming evident that he could not long retain his curacy with a good conscience, he resolved on a noble act of self-sacrifice for the intellectual and spiritual benefit of his parishioners. He gave them his entire library, consisting of about 800 volumes, to be preserved as a parish library for ever. The books were to be kept in an upper room of the school-house : a building be-

lieved to date from the 14th century. The parishioners readily provided oak cases for their preservation. The library consisted largely of Puritan divinity; there were also choice editions of the Latin classics, works of history, political and controversial publications relating to recent events, and a number of polemical tracts against the Quakers. None of his own writings was included. It is needless to say that "light literature" was conspicuous by its absence.

It was of course impossible for Hall to comply with the Act of Uniformity; and his name stands, with those of his friends Wills and Baxter, on the honourable list of Bartholomew confessors. Little more than two years afterwards his health failed, and he became dependent on the goodwill of friends. This was seldom lacking. There is a story that once he possessed only a solitary sixpence, but before it was expended he received remittances from several unknown donors. A short time before his death he said "All the joys of this life are nothing, nothing to the joy I have in Jesus Christ." He died on 13th April, 1665. He was never married.

The following is a list of his published works; those marked (C) are in the Congregational Library:

1. *The Pulpit Guarded with xvii arguments; proving the unlawfulness, sinfulness, and danger of suffering private persons to take upon them Publike Preaching, and Expounding Scripture, Without a Call; occasioned by a Disputation on Aug. 20th, 1650, against L. Williams, &c.* 4to. 1651. Three editions in that year. (C)

Replied to by Thomas Collier (eminent Baptist controversialist and propagandist), in *The Pulpit Guard routed in its Strong Holds; or a brief answer to a . . . discourse by . . . T.H. . . . intituled* The Pulpit Guarded." 4to. 1651.

Also by William Hartley of Stony Stratford, in *The Prerogative Priest's Passing-Bell. Or Amen to the Rigid Clergy. Shewing the Usefulness, Equity, Lawfulness, and Necessity, of Private Persons to take upon them Preaching or Expounding of the Scriptures, having a Call thereto by the Word of God, and agreeable to the practice of the best Reformed Churches of Christ, and Judgment of judicious Divines both Forraign and Domestick. Being a brief reply to that Discourse intituled* The Pulpit Guarded with 17 Arguments, and owned by Thos. Hall. 16 pp., 4to. 1651.

Also by William Sheppard, Esq. in *The People's Privilege and Duty Guarded against the Pulpit and Preacher's Incroachment: and Their Sober Justification and Defence of their free and open Exposition of Scriptures. Wherein Is briefly and very plainly shewed that Christians, that are not Preachers in office, not onely may, but ought freely to Expound Scripture one to another: and this without any prejudice to the Preacher's office.* 12 + 88 pp. 4to. 1652.

2. *Wisdom's Conquest; or an Explanation and Gramaticall Translation of the Thirteenth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses.* 12mo. 1651.

3. *The Font Guarded with xx Arguments. Containing a Compendium of that great Controversie of Infant Baptism; Proving the Lawfulness thereof; as being grounded on the Word of God, agreeable to the Practice of all Reformed Churches; together with the concurrent consent of a whole Jury of Judicious and Pious Divines. Occasioned partly by a Dispute at Bely in Worcestershire, Aug.* 13, 1651 *Against* Joseph Paget, *Dyer,* Walter Rose *and* John Rose, *Butchers of Bromesgrove,* John Evans *a Scribe, yet Antiscripturist,* Francis Loxly, *Sho-maker. . . . . With a Word to one* Collier, *and another to Mr.* Tombs *in the end of the Book.* 24 + 136 pp., 4to. 1652.

At p. 119 is a second title as follows:—

The Collier in his Colours; or the Picture of a Collier. Where you have the filthy, false, Heretical, Blasphemous Tenets of one Collier, an Arrian, Arminian, Socinian, Samosatenian, Antinomian, Anabaptist, Familist, Donatist, Separatist, Anti-Scripturist, &c. An Open Enemy to God, to Christ, to the Holy Ghost, to Scripture, Law, Gospel, Church, Commonwealth, Magistracy, Ministry, Army, &c. As will fully and plainly appeare by the ensuing Discourse. (C. 2nd title only.)

Replied to by Henry Hagger in *The Foundation of the Font Discovered to the view of all that desire to behold it; and the baptizing of men and women when they believe (in rivers and fountains) proved to be a standing Ordinance in the Church of Christ to the end of the world; by plain Scripture proof. In Answer to Mr. Cook's* Font uncovered for Infant-baptism, *and Mr. Baxter's* Plain Scripture-proof for Infants Church-Membership and Baptism; *with a word sometimes upon occasion to Mr. Hall's* Font Guarded; *which is more full answered by Thomas Collier.* pp. 8 + 132, 4to. 1653.

Also by Thomas Collier in *The Font-Guard Routed; or a brief answer to a Book written by* Thomas Hall, *superscribed with this Title,* The Font Guarded with 20 Arguments. 4to. 1652. (C)

See also *The Right Constitution and True Subjects of the Visible Church of Christ, with its Order, Ordinances, &c.* By T. Collier, 1654. (Brit. Mus.)

4. *Comarum Akosmeia: The Loathsomeness of Long Haire . . . with the concurrent judgment of Divines both old and new against it; with an appendix against painting, spots, naked breasts, &c.* 8vo. 1654. (C)

5. *Vindiciae Literarum, The Schools Guarded: or The excellency and usefulness of Arts, Sciences, Languages, History, and all sorts of humane Learning, in subordination to Divinity, & Preparation for the Mynistry, by ten Arguments evinced; ten cavils raised against it by Familists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Lutherans, Libertines, &c., are repelled and answered; and many cautions to prevent all mistakes are added. . . . . With an addition of about one hundred Rules for the expounding of the Scriptures; and a Synopsis of all the most materiall Tropes and Figures contained therein.* 8vo., 1654. Another Edn., 1655. (Both in C)

[This is a volume of about 240 pp., of which only the first 70 are devoted to the main topic, and these are largely directed against Samuel How, "the preaching cobbler." The next 74 pp. are occupied with the "Centuria Sacra": the hundred rules for expounding Scripture. These are followed by "Rhetorica Sacra," pp. 147-192: and there is appended another short treatise by an unnamed author, entitled: *Histrio Mastix. A Whip for Webster (as 'tis conceived) the Quondam player: or an examination of one John Webster's delusive Examen of Academies; Where the Sophistry, Vanity, and insufficiency of his New-found Light (tending to the Subversion of Universities, Philosophers, Physitians, Magistrates, Ministers) is briefly discovered, and the contrary truth asserted*].

6. *Phaeton's Folly; or the Downfall of Pride; being a translation of the Second book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, paraphrastically and gramatically.* 8vo. 1655. (C)

7. *The Beauty of Holiness: or a Description of the Excellence, Amiableness, Comfort, and Content which is to be found in Wages of Purity and Holinesse.* 8vo. 1655. (C)

8. *Chiliomastix Redivivus, sive Homesus Enervatus. A Confutation of the Millenarian Opinion; demonstrating that Christ will not reign Visibly and Personally on Earth with the Saints for a thousand years either before the Day of Judgment, in the Day of Judgment, or thereafter: where you also have many texts of Scripture vindicated from the vain glosses of one Dr. Homes.* 8vo. 1657.

9. *A Practical and Polemical Commentary or Exposition upon the 3d. and 4th Chapters of the Latter Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy.* fol. 1658. (C)

[This is the completion of a Commentary commenced by John Barlow; whose work on chap. 1 appeared in 4to in 1625, and on chap. 2 with the former in fol. in 1632.]

10. To *'Alas tēs gēs, sive Apologia pro Ministerio Evangelico; in quo ostenditur ejus necessitas, contra vulgo vocatos Levellers: nec non quam plurimos alios ejusdem maniae. In calce operis annexa est dissertatio una de Activa Christi obedientia; altera de Perseverantia Sanctorum.* 8vo. Frankfort, 1658. (C)

11. *An Apologic for the Ministry, and its Maintenance. Wherein is set forth the Necessity, Dignity, and Efficacy of a Gospel Ministry; against the Socinians, Swenckfieldians, Weigellans, Anabaptists, Enthusiasts, Familists, Seekers, Quakers, Levellers, Libertines, and the rest of that Rout.* 4to., 12 + 104 pp. 1660. (C)

12. *Samaria's Downfall; or a Commentary on the five Last Verses of the Thirteenth Chapter of Hosea.* 4to. 1660. (C)

13. *The Beauty of Magistracy, in an Exposition of the 82nd Psalm; wherein is set forth the Necessity, Utility, Dignity, Duty, and Mortality of Magistrates.* sm. 4to. 1660. (C)

14. *An Exposition, by way of Supplement, on the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of Amos.* 4to. 1661. (C)

[This is the completion of the unfinished work of Sebastian

Benefield, D.D., 4to, 1629; the two together formed what was, in its day, the standard commentary on Amos.]

15. *Funebria Florae, The Downfall of May Games: Wherein is set forth the rudeness, prophaness, stealing, drinking, fighting, dancing, whoring, mis-rule, mis-spence of precious time, contempt of God and godly Magistrates, Ministers and People, which oppose the Rascality and rout, in this their open prophaneness, and Heathenish Customs. Occasioned by the general complaint of the rudeness of people in this kinde, in this Interval of Settlement. Here you have Twenty Arguments against these prophane Sports, and all the Cavills made by the Belialists of the Time, refelled and answered: Together with an addition of some verses in the close, for the delight of the ingenious Reader.* pp. 4 + 48. 4to. 1660. A revised edition, 1661.

The arguments, set forth in scholastic form, occupy 18 pp. The first of these is founded on the supposed fact that May games are a continuation of the Roman Floralia, to which our author, on the rather questionable authority of Lactantius, ascribes a peculiarly shameful origin. Next follows a regular Trial of Flora: about 12 pp., the greater part of which is reprinted in Hone's *Table Book*. Flora is charged with having "brought in a pack of Practical fanaticks, viz., Ignorants, Atheists, Papists, Drunkards, Swearers, Swashbucklers, Maid-Marions, Morrice-dancers, Maskers, Mummers, May-pole-stealers, Health-drinkers, together with a rascalian rout of Fidlers, Fools, Fighters, Gamesters, Whoremasters, Lewd men, Light women, Contemners of Magistracy, Affronters of Ministry, rebellious to Masters, disobedient to Parents, Misspenders of time, Abusers of the creature, &c." The jury is made up of persons and documents which have already borne witness against the prisoner, who, of course, is sentenced to perpetual banishment. Another dozen pages are devoted to "An answer to all the cavils which are of any weight or worth which are brought in defence of May games;" it is alleged that the Maypole is usually stolen, or if given the donor is most likely a papist. The book concludes with a poem of 264 lines, in which the Maypole boasts of his exploits. A few lines are worth quoting.

"I have a mighty retinue,
The scum of all the rascal crew
Of Fidlers, Pedlars, Jail-scaped Slaves,
Of Tinkers, Turncoats, Tosspot Knaves,
Of Thieves, and scape-thrifts many a one,
With bouncing Bess and jolly Joan,
With idle boys, and journeymen,
And vagrants that their country run;
Yea, Hobby horse doth hither prance,
Maid Marrian, and the Morris-dance.
My summons fetcheth far and near,
All that can swagger, roar, and swear.
All that can dance, and drab, and drink
They run to me as to a sink.
These me for their commander take,
And I do them my black guard make.

I take away all fear of evil,
Of sin and hell, of death and devil;
I tell them 'tis a time to laugh,
To give themselves free leave to quaff,
To drink their healths upon their knee,
To mix their talk with ribaldry.

I bid men cast off gravity,
And women eke their modesty.
Old crones that scarce have tooth or eye,
But crooked back and lamèd thigh
Must have a frisk, and shake their heel
As if no stitch nor ache they feel.
I bid the servant disobey,
The child to say his parents nay;
The poorer sort that have no coin
I can commend them to purloin.

Let preachers prate till they grow wood,
Where I am they can do no good.

[No doubt the old May-games, like all other popular festivities, were often attended with disorder, and sometimes gave occasion for scandal. But to accept Hall's diatribe as generally applicable would be as unfair as to take Hudibras for the portrait of an average puritan.]

16?. The Nonconformist Memorial also mentions, as a work of Hall's, *A Scripture Discourse of the Apostacy of Antichrist.* It does not appear as his in the British Museum Catalogue; nor is it named by Moore as published in his lifetime.

The ancient free school at King's Norton, after long decay, had ceased to exist, and the building (which is believed also to have been the dwelling-house of the Chantry clerks) was in a dilapidated condition; so that the books, after near 220 years, had suffered much from damp, while some of them had altogether disappeared. It was, therefore, proposed in 1880 that those which remained, about 600 volumes, should be bought for the Birmingham Central Free Library. Legal obstacles interfered with this project; but an alternative proposal: that they should be lent to the Birmingham Free Library Committee for an indefinite period, appeared quite feasible. Accordingly in 1892 an arrangement for their removal and safe custody was negotiated by S. Timmins, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., on behalf of the Archaeological Section of the Midland Institute; and the books were catalogued by W. S. Brassington, F.S.A. Since then they have been readily accessible to students in the Central Free Library.

The ancient clergy and school-house at King's Norton was repaired by public subscription in 1893, under the leadership of the vicar and curate, the Revs. Digby A. C. Preedy and W. B. Atherton.

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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

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Contents

Editorial - - - - - 65

The Congregational Church at Barking - 67
S. Wilding

Early Nonconformity at Godalming - - 71
J. H. Norris

Rochford and the Mayflower-makers - 76
C.S.

The Scottish Psalter - - - 80

Puritanism in Wharfedale, II - - 82
Geo. Shaw Briggs

The Will of the Rev. William Berman - 93
G. Lyon Turner

The Story of the Western College - - 98

The Salters' Hall Controversy - - 110
F. J. Powicke

A Forgotten Congregational Hymn-Writer - 125

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Editorial

WE have again to apologize for delay of the present issue. It is entirely due, as on a former occasion, to depletion of the staff at the printing-office owing to the war.

* *

Our Autumnal meeting was held in Birmingham on 4th October. Interesting papers were read by the Rev. A. G. Matthews, M.A., on *Nonconformity in Staffordshire before 1672;* and by Mr. W. Wimbury on *Congregationalism in Worcestershire.* We hope to give the substance of these papers in our next.

* *

About four years hence we shall be invited to celebrate the Tercentenary of The Pilgrim Fathers. Already plans are being formed on the other side of the Atlantic for a worthy commemoration; and it is proposed that on "Forefathers' Day," 1920, Memorial Sermons shall be preached in every Congregational Church in America! This is what our transatlantic friends might —if the suggestion had come from this side—have called "a large order," but it is the right thing to do, and it becomes us to remember that the men of the *Mayflower* belong to us as truly as to their lineal descendants. They went out from us, not "because they were not of us," but because the England of that day was not worthy of them. There is ample time to decide on the form which the English Commemoration shall take; but about the date there can scarcely be two opinions. It was on the 6th September, 1620, that the Pilgrims finally set sail from Plymouth, and that date ought to be as firmly fixed in our national calendar as that of the Gunpowder Plot or the Battle of Trafalgar. In 1920 the 6th of September will fall on a Monday; surely on the preceding day the Story of the Pilgrims should be told in every Sunday school in the land. No doubt there will be adequate literary commemoration. The article by C.S. in our present issue is intended as the Introductory chapter of a popular narrative on which the author is expending a considerable amount of original research. The History published by Dr. John Brown 21 years ago is never likely to become obsolete; and it is greatly to be wished that it may be reissued in a very cheap form, so as to be universally accessible.

* *

We understand that the "Survey of the Dissenting Interest," made in 1691-2, and discovered among the records of the Presbyterian Fund about four years ago, is now actually in the press. Much patient labour has been spent upon it by Principal Gordon, and we await its publication with expectant interest.

* *

We are glad to learn that Dr. Peel has definitely undertaken to edit a reprint of the very scarce collection of Puritan tracts published about 1592 under the title *Parte of a Register:* to which the *Seconde Parte* amongst the Morrice MSS. was designed to constitute a sequel. We also hear that there is some prospect of a collected edition of the writings of the patriot martyr John Penry.

* *

Information is desired about Roger Breirley or Brierley Puritan curate of Grindleton, Yorks, about 1620. He was persecuted by the anti-puritan party, but befriended by Archbishop Matthews. Some of his admirers were nicknamed Grindletonians. A volume of his sermons was printed posthumously in 1677.

The Congregational Church at Barking

ALTHOUGH the traditions which date the origin of this church from 1662 or 1706 are certainly erroneous, there can be no doubt that Puritan influence was early operative in the neighbourhood. On 15th May, 1556, Hugh Lavercock, "a lame old man" of Barking, was burned at Stratford for stoutly maintaining the doctrines of the Reformation. In 1642, a petition was presented to the House of Commons by parishioners of Barking, that John Bowyer might be appointed their lecturer; and he was appointed accordingly; the vicar, Richard Hall, being enjoined to "permit him to exercise his ministry without any lett or interruption." In the attempted Presbyterian settlement of 1646 Barking was included in the Braintree classis, and Mr. Thomas Lake was named as representative elder. In 1654, Benjamin Way, whose family connections were strongly Puritan, was appointed vicar of Barking. He left shortly before the Restoration, and took a village pastorate in Dorsetshire, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. Under the Indulgence of 1673 he was licensed as a Congregational preacher at Dorchester; in 1676 he removed to Bristol, as pastor of the Congregational church on Castle Green; and died there about the 9th or 10th November, 1680. He was succeeded at Barking by Thomas Cartwright, afterwards bishop of Chester and non-juror.

In 1653, "divers inhabitants of the parish"

residing about Abury (or Aldborough) Hatch, three miles from the parish church, petitioned Parliament for help in building a chapel of ease. A site was assigned, and a chapel built, apparently of timber; and the Rev. Edward Keightley was appointed minister. He was of the parish of Grays; but the estate on which the chapel stood was owned by his mother. Mr. Keightley was silenced by the Act of Uniformity, and had no successor in the chapelry; for the bishop of London and the lord of the manor disputed about the right of presentation, no appointment was made, and the chapel fell into decay. Mr. Keightley, however, continued to reside at Abury Hatch, and to preach in his own house. Under the Indulgence he obtained a licence (2nd May) for his house as a Presbyterian meeting-place; and on 16th July another for his house in Barking. He is said to have preached at Billericay also. He died at Barking, and was buried there 3rd July, 1701.

Meanwhile the Rev. Richard Taylor, ejected from Holt in the county of Denbigh, came to reside at Barking. He was of Oxford University, where his tutor was Samuel Jones, afterwards tutor of the academy at Llangynwydd. Taylor is said to have been a wealthy man; and after ejection from his benefice he continued to preach in the church for twelve months gratis, being connived at by the local authorities. At Barking he evidently held an influential position. T. W. Davids says he settled "as pastor of the congregation there, probably as successor to Edward Keightley." If so Mr. Keightley must have resigned long before his death, for Taylor did not survive him. But it *may be* that there were two meetings, one in the town and the other at Abury Hatch. However, Mr. Taylor died on 12th August,

1697. He was buried in the chancel of Barking church, where the inscription on his gravestone was still legible in 1862.

For eighty years after the death of Mr. Keightley we have no evidence of Nonconformity in the wide parish of Barking. No congregation is mentioned in Evans's list, 1717-1729; nor in Thompson's list, 1773. But in 1782, the Rev. George Gold of Stratford (or West Ham) commenced preaching in a hired house at Barking; with what result is shewn by the following document, now carefully preserved among the records of the local church. It is clearly written on one side of a paper, measuring $15\frac{7}{8}$ by $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches, somewhat frayed on the right-hand side. As the "names afterward written" do not appear, it is probably a contemporary transcript from an original church-book no longer extant. There is some erratic spelling, which is here retained. It is evident that the arrangements made on 26th January, 1785, were confirmed by the West Ham church meeting; and the "branch" became a distinct church. A meeting-house had already been built; and in 1804 the Rev. Joseph Kennet Parker was installed as pastor. His ordination took place on 28th September of that year.

(*The document above mentioned*)

"We whose names are afterward written hav[ing] sought the Lord by prayer for direction in matters of great moment—that is to say—How we according to the Rule of God's word might join ourselves into a Church—that we might enjoy the privileges and Ordinances of God's House, we came to the following Resolutions:—

First, we agreed to set apart one night for prayer and speak of our Experience to each other, in Order to Encrease the Unity of the Spirit and the Bond of peace—that we might be joined unto the Lord and One another—This was Jany 23, 1785.

2 ly. We then fully agreed to form ourselves into one

Body in Communion and Church fellowship—upon the Independent pl[an], holding the same Doctrins and Church Order as is held by the Church of Christ at Westham under the Revd. Geo. Gold Pastor of the said Church—This agreement was because our Intention was of becomming a part or branch of the aforesaid Church if they thought well to Receive us as such.

3 ly. It was also agreed that this our Desi[re] of becoming a Part or branch of the Church at Westham should be made know[n] unto them by Mr. G. Gold at there next Church Meeting—therefore we appointed him as our Messenger for that purpose. Our next meeting ajourned untill the 26th inst.

On Jany 25 we received Mr. Gold's answer from the Church at Westham—that they had ag[reed] to send Messengers to converse with us and hear what God had done for our Immortal Sou[ls] ; therefore desired we would meet for that purpose on Thursday the 26 Inst, at six o'clock at night.

On Jany 26th the Revd. Mr. Gold, Mr. John Fleming, and Mr. Thos. Atherton, Minister and Deacons of the Church of Christ at Westham, attended as above—We also met & Informed them of our Desire and Dessign in becoming a Branch as above—We Gave in our Experience before them, they where very agreeable we should become One body if agreeable unto the Church, which was to be agreed at the next Church Meeting."

Communicated by Mr. S. WILDING, Barking

Early Nonconformity at Godalming

THE facts hitherto known about early Nonconformity in this ancient borough are correctly given in Cleal's *Congregationalism in Surrey;* and may be briefly summarized as follows:

According to the Episcopal Return in 1669 there were two conventicles in Godalming; one of 700 or 800 persons in the house of John Platt or Plot, the ejected minister of West Horsley; the other of 400 or 500 Quakers in the house of Henry Gill. [It seems likely that these numbers are much exaggerated.] In 1672 a licence was granted for a Presbyterian meeting in the house of George Bridge, or Bridger. Two other ejected ministers lived in the town: John Farrol or Farwell, M.A., from Selborne, Hants., who was imprisoned under the Five Mile Act, and in 1672 was licensed at Farnham; and Richard Dowley, B.D., ejected successively from Stoke in Worcestershire and Elford in Staffordshire, licensed in 1672 at West Orton in Leicestershire, and resident for a few years after the Toleration Act in Godalming (died 1702). It is added that "in 1715 Mr. Roger Foster of Guildford had a lecture here."

But an interesting addition to these facts is afforded by a manuscript the contents of which have lately been made known, which is the property of Captain Constable of Arundel, and from which copious extracts appear in vol. xxvii of *Surrey Archaeological Collections.* It is a volume of over 300 pages, in the handwriting of Lawrence

Lee, butcher, of Godalming, who was born there on 31st October, 1668. By far the greater part of the volume consists of sermons, mostly by the Rev. Samuel Hall, of whom hereafter; but the most interesting part consists of an autobiographical sketch, interspersed with historical memoranda, and commenced by the writer on 25th December, 1708. From this sketch we give a few instructive extracts:

"At ye age of three years I was sent to school to ye widow Moreland.. .....I well remember ye first day my Mother had me to school, whare I went about one year till I could read some part of a Testament: My ffather and Mother comonly hearing those Nonconformist Minesters preach which did not conforme according to ye custome of ye Church of England now in use who were sylenced from preaching in ye publique Churches on St. Bartholomew's day in ye year 1662. I remember Mr Manship who had formerly been Minester of ye Lower Parish Church in Guildford preach in ye house whare George Bridger then dwelt, whare now Jno Smiths widow dwels, being next adjoyning to our school.....I have sometimes alsoe heard Minesters preach in ye room whare I went to school; ye Minesters yt used most commonly to preach at our Town about yt time ware Mr Buriss,[1] Mr Pearce,[2] Mr Noah Webb,[3] Mr Stephen Webb,[4] and Mr ffarwell. Mr Buriss and Mr Noah Webb were two ffamous preachers. I remember I once heard a Sermon at Sr Jno Platts house where now Lady Oglethorpe dwels, but who was ye Minester I know not. My Mother very early instructed me in the Assembly's chatecism which I could say a great part of when I was about three years old. When I was about four years old in ye year 1672 we Removed.....to ye house.....next adjoyning to ye house whare now I dwell.....during ye time we lived in that house my Mother removed me from ye Widow Morelands School to go to school with one Mrs Elketton yt dwelt at ye upper end of this town whare I went about one year dureing which time there was great persecution to those persons that went to meetings called then by ye name of Conventicles as by an Act of Parliament..... Dr Speed being then our parrish Minester and a very great persecutor, Mr Hall a Justice of ye peace and a very troublesome person; My ffather about ye year 1672 liveing at Tailors ffarme whare he now dwels; those Minesters useth to preach in ye Hall before we went to dwell at that house.....Dr Speed excommunicated

[1] Ejected from Stourmouth, Kent.
[2] Not identified.
[3] Ejected from Upton Grey, Hants.
[4] Preached at Frimley and Farnborough.

my ffather, and Jn° Toft being then Constable who is now living took from my ffather a great deal of his goods for his not coming to ye parrish church; but so far as I remember they could gett none to buy it so y^t^ he had all restored. Dureing ye time of their preaching at this Town their came once on a Michalmass day Dr Speed[5] with ye warden of ye Town, Constables, Tything-men, etc. I being then there; and they brake open ye doors and seized Mr Burns[6] and two other Minesters and had them prisoners to ye Markett house chamber or Town Hall whare they left the Constable to keep them, Jn° Toft being then constable; a great many of their hearers went with them and my selfe went with my mother, whare they called a psalme and sung; Jn° Toft, as I after heard, fearing he should come in trouble as being himselfe at a Conventicle, went away and left them; when he was gon they also went away without any further trouble at that time. M^r^ ffarwell some time before this as I have heard was taken at Mr Platt^s^ house whare now ye Lady Oglethorp dwels, and was had to Prison whare he lay about halfe a year.....

ffebruary ye 21, 1673-4 my Brother John was born; and my ffather not haveing him babtized according to ye custom of ye church of England, but he was babtized by one of those Nonconformist Minesters, for which he was sued by Dr Speed and came in much trouble; dureing ye time those Minesters preached at this Town they came comonly to lodge with Stephen Coombes my wife's Grand ffather. Y^e^ troubles Still increasing in our Town those Minesters ware forced to preach more privatly. I remember once y^t^ they were apprehensive ye Minester would be taken at Tailors ffarme, upon which they privately went to Shakelford to ye widow Billinghurst's house, whither I went with my Mother; we went.....to ye house whare Mr Noah Webb preached. After this they preached at Guildford, whare I went with my ffather and mother to hear them without any disturbance for a conciderable time.....

January ye 20, 1678-9.....my Mother.....was extreme ill and sent for me to her bed side and tould me she supposed she should dye, and y^t^ she would give me her ring,and charged me as a dying Mother y^t^ I must go to hear those Minesters which I used to do and go on in that good way in which she had instructed me. But it please ye Lord at y^t^ time she recovered.....

May ye 15, 1682.....about this time they ware so severe against Dissenters y^t^ those Ministers could not preach publiquely at Guildford, so y^t^ we useth to go more privatly to Sr Nicolas Stoughton's of Stoughton place about two miles beyond Guildford; but that held not very long, they ware so severe that we could not

[5] Samuel Speed, 1631-1682.
[6] Not identified.

assemble there neither, nor at any other place y^t I knew of, so that I comonly used to go to our Parrish church."

From this date to that of the Revolution the diary is chiefly occupied with matters of business and public affairs; some popular gossip is retailed, which is by no means void of interest. Then we come to the following:

"About May in ye year 1689: I saw King William come through this Town of Godalming in his way to Portsmouth; at his return he dined in this Town; both sides of ye way from ye one end to ye other at his going to Portsmouth and return from thence ware hung with woollen cloth, above which cloth was sett abundance of green boughs; and from several windows crost ye town ware hung garlands whare in ware abundance of silver plate. About this time there useth to preach at ye Presbiterian meeting in this Town Mr Chester and M^r ffarwell, one ye one Lords day and ye other ye next. Mr Chester being acquainted with Dr Annesley, who had a great interest in procureing money for poor places in ye countrey to maintain Dissenting Minesters, and also in sending Minesters whare they ware wanting, by our applying ourselves to him he sent down a young Minester named Mr Samuel Hall, who had been a chaplain to ye Lord Holliss; he was a very famous preacher, and came to us in the year 1690."

Here the narrative breaks off, giving place to a number of Mr. Hall's sermons, transcribed from the worthy butcher's shorthand notes.

The Mr. Chester mentioned above is, no doubt, John Chester ejected from Wetherley, Leicestershire; who usually ministered in Gravel Lane, Southwark, but "often made excursions in several parts of Surrey"; but, his health failing, he went to reside at Guildford, where he died in May, 1696. The diary, besides giving a curious view of education in a Puritan family, affords a picturesque account of the local persecution, furnishes us with the names of several ministers who occasionally preached at Godalming, and tells us of the joint ministry of Farrol and Chester. It also introduces the hitherto unknown name of Samuel Hall, as settled pastor in a Presbyterian meeting. It thus

links up the existing church, which Cleal was able to trace back only to 1715, with the licensed meeting of 1672, if not with the conventicle gathered by John Platt of West Horsley in 1669.

Some other facts and probabilities relating to the church at Godalming have been brought to light as the result of researches made by Mr. P. Woods, C.B., whose family has been connected with the town for five or six generations. Waddington, quoted by Cleal, "mentions a Mr. Crewkett as coming in 1729, who stayed (as minister) 14 or 15 years." Mr. Woods suggests that "Mr. Crewkett" may be the same as "Thomas Cawkett of Godalming, gent.," whose will, made on 7th January, 1740-1, was proved 18th March, 1744-5. He left some property in Derbyshire to a kinsman named John Hat, but with a proviso that if the said John died before attaining the age of 21 a sum of £100 was to be divided among 20 poor dissenting ministers.

In 1757 John Lee left the interest of £150 "to the Presbyterian Minister or Independent Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for his preaching and work of his ministry in Godalming, *provided he be sound, etc.* The minister at that time would be John Harrison, of whom, Cleal says, nothing is known beyond the fact of his settling in 1753 and remaining eight years. Perhaps the legacy furnishes indirect testimony to his orthodoxy.

Communicated by Mr. J. H. Norris

Rochford and the Mayflower-makers

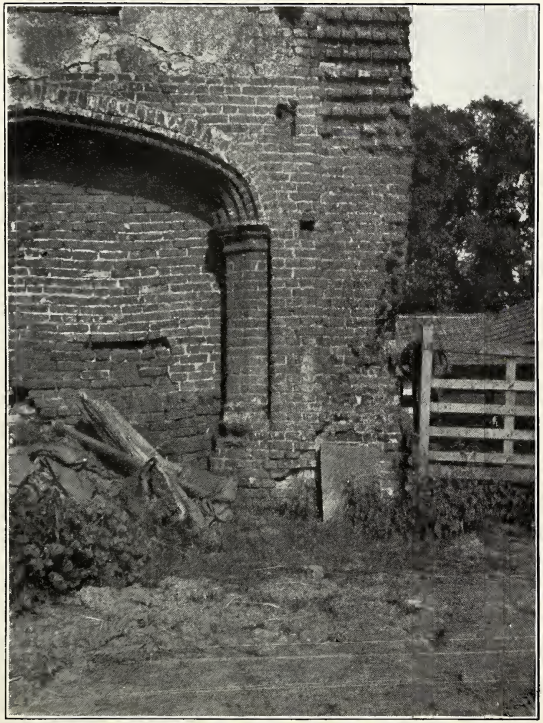
THE approaching Tercentenary of the Mayflower and its ever-memorable voyage in 1620, directs our attention to some names of men and women who were not of the Pilgrims, who are not, in popular estimation, associated with that heroic company; and who are yet fairly entitled to be reckoned among the Mayflower-makers.

I am not trying to coin a new word. I only take it that the term "Mayflower" speaks not only of the flower-word "Hope," and the little vessel which once rocked on Devon waters, but of that power which carried men on to high endeavour, to clearer vision, and nearer to the golden age.

In the building of a boat not only are the timbers needed, but the nails, the iron bands, the ropes, the sails, the compass, the wheel, the oars, and the pegs. There must be years of work and training before it is possible to build a Mayflower. It took the scattering of the Word of God broadcast, the wayside preaching of the Word, the martyrs' fires, before the Mayflower could sail.

Surely it was Wyclif who laid the keel of that boat, Tyndal following with oaken beams, many a brave worker in towns and villages throughout the land taking up the hammering.

Will it surprise you if I claim for the ill-fated, innocent girl, Anne Boleyn, a share of the work? To the lordly hall of Rochford (and it was lordly in those days with its eight towers and many



THE CHAPEL AT ROCHFORD HALL

THE ENTRANCE, NOW BUILT UP

THE INTERIOR, NOW A STABLE

gables) came the king a-courting. You can trace in vitrified bricks in the garden the French emblem he used in his correspondence with her. In the privy record of expenses he speaks of her as "My lady Anne, of Rochford." It was there she chased butterflies in the old park, and learnt to play so skilfully on her lute. And it was there she studied Tyndal's New Testament. You may still see the book in the British Museum. She persuaded the king to read it too. Up to that time it had only been smuggled into England, but after the royal reader had glanced into its pages it was allowed to be printed here, and thus the Scriptures became widely known and loved. Am I not right therefore in saying Anne helped to weave the sails of the Mayflower? She was not the careless woman so often depicted. The defender of Latimer, the friend of the Reformation, proved, by her calm attitude in the hour of her death, to be made of sterner stuff than a mere lute player.

In the same old hall years afterwards we find the stalwart John Greenwood. He was private chaplain to Lord Rich, the then owner, It was in the chapel there he taught the stern faith of the Puritans, hammering in the nails with steady blows. Beneath that broad archway enter many well known for their adherence to the Reformed faith. There is the mother of Lord Bacon, who confessed to her brother-in-law, Lord Burleigh, she had "profited there more in the inward feeling of God's holy will than she had done by hearing occasional sermons in St. Paul's for nigh twenty years together." Thither would come John Vassel of Eastwood, perhaps bringing with him the young Samuel, who years afterwards was to figure in the Star Chamber, and whose dust now rests in Boston, New England. And Richard Saltonstall, of Ockenden, would be there.

But soon Greenwood had to flee to London, hoping to be lost in the intricacies of the city. But he *must* teach the way of God, and formed a secret church in the house of Henry Martin, near St. Paul's. He was arrested there one day in the midst of holding a service, and for seven years knew the cold and hardship of prison life, first in the Clink, and then in the Fleet. Even there he went on building the boat, sending out odd sheets of writing to be conveyed to the printers in Holland, and afterwards distributed far and wide in England.

We need not continue the well known story of Greenwood and his friend and fellow sufferer Barrow: the temporary release, the gathered church in Southwark, the later imprisonment, the mocking reprieve, and the final journey to Tyburn. Nor is this the place to tell of the patriot-martyr Penry, of Ainsworth and the exiles at Amsterdam, of John Smyth, of Helwys, and of Jacob; for they had no association with Rochford. But they were all "Mayflower-makers," each one in his degree; each contributed something, spar or cable, or belaying-pin at the very least, toward the outfit of an ideal ship, but for which the literal Mayflower would never have borne the Pilgrims on their adventurous way.

In 1586, the same year in which Greenwood was cast into prison, the Puritan ministers in their classes "concluded to make a survey of the ministers." This they completed for 11 counties, as well as for the city and archdeaconry of London, comprising altogether 2,537 parishes. Of 335 parish clergymen in Essex there were found 163 unable to preach, 36 of them being scandalous; 58 pluralists, 3 of them scandalous; 12 non-resident; and of the resident preachers 14 were scandalous. Yet 38 "sufficient, painfull and care-

full prechers and ministers in Essex" had "bene sundrie times molested and vexed, partlie for refusing the late urged subscription, and partlie for not wearing the surples, and omitting the Crosse in Baptisme, and such like." In the same year 98 inhabitants of the Hundred of Rochford presented a petition to the Privy Council, setting forth that by means of learned and godly preachers vice had been repressed and godliness increased; but now some of these were suspended, others threatened with deprivation, and men sent in their places who were utterly unworthy. Therefore the petitioners besought "that those good and godlie prechers dwelling within the saide hundred . . . . maie be freed and at libertie to prech the Gospell amongst us as they had done to God his Glorie and our comfort." [See Dr. Peel's *Calendar of the Morrice MSS.* in Williams's Library.]

The chapel of Rochford Hall, in which Anne Boleyn probably worshipped, and in which John Greenwood undoubtedly ministered, is now a stable. We understand that until now no print of it has ever been published, and we think our readers will be glad to have a view of a building, though in ruins, which has associations of so great historic interest.

C. S.

The Scottish Psalter

OF the numerous Puritan Metrical Psalters, one common feature was an attempt to achieve the all but impossible task of making a version at once *literal* and *singable.* The three that were thought most nearly to approach this ideal were those of Francis Rous (1641, 3d Edn., 1646), William Barton (1644), and Zachary Boyd (1646). The version of Rous was favoured by the Long Parliament, and sanctioned for use in the churches ; but it was not deemed quite satisfactory by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. They therefore appointed a committee to compile a Psalter on the basis of Boyd, Barton, and Rous, with permission also to use a MS. version (now lost) by Sir W. Mure of Rowallan (1639). The result of their labours was the well-known "Scottish Psalter," which, despite innumerable literary blemishes, has gained an abiding place in the affections of the Scottish people, and will not be obsolete for generations yet to come.

The nature of the work done by this committee will appear from the following analysis of the 23rd Psalm ; which, apart from its sacred and historic associations, is probably the most perfect metrical version of a psalm in any language. The words given in Roman type are taken from Rous, those in *italic* from Barton, and those in **thick type** from Boyd ; the few words in brackets being apparently editorial :

The Lord's my Shepherd, I'le not want;
He makes me down to lie
In pastures green, He [leadeth me
the quiet waters by.]
My Soul He doth restore again;
and me to walk doth make
[With] in the paths of Righteousness,
ev'n for His own Name's sake.
Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale
Yet will I fear no [ne] *ill,*
[For] Thou art with me [and] *Thy Rod*
and Staff **me comfort still.**
My Table Thou hast furnished
in presence of my foe [s]
My Head thou dost with Oyl anoint,
[and] my cup overflowes.
Goodness and mercy all my life
shall surely follow me;
And in God's House for evermore
my dwelling place shall be.

Puritanism in Wharfedale

(*Continued from vol. vii, p. 64*)

OF the group of ministers associated with Fairfax either as domestic or army chaplains I think the most striking figure is that of *Edward Bowles*. He seems to have been a man of ability, courage and distinction, and the story of his career is a romance of changing fortunes. Widely known as an eloquent preacher he was also an energetic politician. When Puritanism was in its ascendent, Bowles advanced rapidly. He was one of four ministers appointed by Parliament to York Minster, and held the position with distinction until the Restoration. He was probably the most influential cleric in the city and county, but was not without his thorny experiences. On one occasion, for instance, he had a hearer at the Minster who did *not* listen in reverential silence. "Upon the first day of the week," writes George Fox in his *Journal*, "I was commanded of the Lord to go to the great Minster and speak to Priest Bowles and his hearers...Accordingly I went, and when the priest had done, I told him I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priests and people." Speak he did with his usual frankness. "As soon as the words were out of my mouth they turned me out and threw me down the steps, but I got up again without hurt and went to my lodgings." Edward Bowles had a ready wit, sometimes genial, sometimes caustic. Once he was staying with Sir Harry Vane, the Independent idealist, next to

Cromwell, I think, the most interesting personality among the statesmen of the period. When he was leaving, Sir Harry followed him, candle in hand, to the head of the staircase to light him down. The Presbyterian preacher politely urged him not to take the trouble. "Oh ! I will see you down," said Sir Harry. "Indeed Sir Harry," was Bowles' parting shot, "I believe you would see us down."

Bowles' career closed in tragic disappointment. He was very active in opening up negotiations with General Monk with a view to the restoration of the Stuarts, and in this he had the support of the prominent Wharfedale families, such as the Fairfaxes and Arthingtons, and of the majority of Presbyterian ministers throughout the country. They hailed the return of the King with extravagant exultation, and actually believed that the triumph of Presbyterianism was at hand. Their eager, enthusiastic confidence in the promises of the second Charles at Breda is almost inexplicable after their experience of the duplicity of the first. Oliver Heywood writes in his *Diary*: "After a dark and gloomy winter comes a heart-reviving spring...Strange events have happened. God is in the heavens and doeth whatever pleaseth Him. He hath glorified His great name and encouraged His people. He hath restored our civil rights and given us the hope of a just settlement."

Oliver's younger brother Nathaniel, a Presbyterian without guile, was minister of Ormskirk. On the day appointed as a National Thanksgiving for the Restoration, he preached from the text "Mephibosheth said unto the King, 'Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the King is come again in peace to his own house.'" Two years later when the King *did* take his all—his parsonage, his glebe, his tithes, his church and churchyard—one of Heywood's parishioners was cruel enough to

remind him both of his text and his extravagantly loyal sermon.

No one had greater cause to be angry than Edward Bowles. In the downfall of his hopes and plans he behaved with fine courage and dignity. It is said that great efforts were made by Tillotson and others to induce him to conform, and that the deanery of York was offered as a bribe. He refused it. In his last interview with the man whom he had welcomed as a deliverer he spoke out, sadly, boldly. The preacher was returning to York to die. "My lord," he said, "I have buried the good old cause and am now going to bury myself. I never expect to see your face more in this world, and therefore must be so plain as to say that you have had greater opportunity than any other person to make the King happy and the people easy, and all this you have given up for a feather in your cap, a little trifling honour." That day the preacher set off homewards. He was met at Doncaster by several ministers of the county. In their company he expressed his deep sorrow for what he had done, and exhorted them "to take care they did not make shipwreck of their faith and a good conscience." He died at York shortly afterwards, and amongst his last words these have been recorded: "Thou wast a God that forgavest their iniquities though thou tookest vengeance on their inventions."

Another of the Fairfax chaplains was *Joshua Sprigg*, an Independent, author of *A History of the Civil War*, which Green cites as "the best contemporary account of the New Model and its doings." Carlyle criticises the style as too ornate (as perhaps the style of preachers used to be) but says that the work was honestly done. Baxter describes Sprigg as chief among the open disciples of Sir Harry Vane, and therefore an advocate of thorough toleration, when such advocates were

few. Advanced Independent as he was, however, he was opposed to the death of King Charles, published an address and preached a sermon in solemn protest only a few days before the sentence was carried out. He may have been singular in the boldness of his protest, but the large majority of ministers, Independent as well as Presbyterian, regarded this execution as a mistake or a crime.

One of the few exceptions was *Hugh Peters*, the most eccentric and the most maligned of the army chaplains. His wild, fierce eloquence often fanned the zeal of the troopers to white heat before they marched into battle or entered upon a siege. His restless energy led him to play many parts and he closed his adventurous career on the scaffold. His name, however, is associated with Cromwell's more closely than with Fairfax's, and we may turn to a man of a very different type, *Richard Stretton*—ejected from Petworth in 1660 and silenced in London in 1662. He became domestic chaplain at Nun-Appleton, and remained there, in closest relationship with the family, till Lord Fairfax's death. After that he was appointed one of the ministers of the newly formed Presbyterian congregation at Mill Hill, Leeds. Still later he was an influential preacher in London, where he ended his long and useful life in 1712. His must have been an attractive personality. Calamy says that "he delighted in doing good, and was a zealous promoter of works of charity." Especially was he filled with sympathy for his brother ministers when the dark days came, and he used his social influence to obtain for them much needed help. I believe that the "Stretton Fund" was one of the earliest forms of organised ministerial aid. Readers of Oliver Heywood's *Diaries* know how urgent was the need of it. Of the preachers whose voices

were heard at Nun-Appleton none attracts me more than Richard Stretton.

Oliver Heywood's name was well known in Wharfedale as indeed throughout the West Riding. On the wooded ridge that gives us some of the finest views of the valley is the little village of Bramhope. Its "old chapel" is one of the few places of worship in Yorkshire erected during the Puritan ascendency. It is a curious and interesting memorial of Puritan worship. There is the plain, box-like, two-decker pulpit, and there are the terribly uncomfortable pews. In that pulpit the preacher held forth for hours, perhaps reversing the hour glass beside him not with a painful sense that he must stop, but with the assurance that he was expected to go on. In those worn seats the people sat, not in mere patient endurance or somnolent indifference, but in wrapt attention, at any rate when Heywood was in the pulpit. The scene comes back to you when you stand in that quaint old chapel under the fine old trees. Squire Dyneley, lord of the manor, was an ardent Puritan. The trust deed in connection with this place of worship is an interesting relic. It is neither Presbyterian nor Congregational. Joseph Hunter in his book on Oliver Heywood and the old Dissent says that in the deeds of early West Riding chapels it is frequently stated that the buildings are set apart for "the worship of God by Protestant Dissenters," without further denominational definition. It is sometimes added "of the Presbyterian denomination," sometimes "of the Independent denomination," whilst occasionally the two are associated. I believe there was no corresponding vagueness in the doctrinal clauses—*they* were rigid enough. The doctrines to be preached and held were, almost without exception, those of the Westminster Assembly. Yet such is the futility of doctrinal

trust deeds that many, I suppose the majority, of these churches became Unitarian. In course of time the little chapel at Bramhope, however, was handed over to the Established Church, and was used for its worship until the present church was built not long ago.

The most popular preacher at Bramhope was Oliver Heywood, whose *Diaries* are a mine of information on the Puritanism of the second half of the 17th century. Heywood was a great evangelist, worthy to rank if not with Wesley yet with those famous Yorkshiremen of the 18th century, Grimshaw of Haworth and Venn of Huddersfield. He belonged to an old Lancashire family, and Presbyterianism was stronger and more highly organised in Lancashire than in any other county. When ejected from his living at Coley he remained in the neighbourhood, sharing Coley Hall for a time with that sturdy Independent, Captain John Hodgson of Bradford fame. His ejection, like Paul's imprisonment, proved for the furtherance of the Gospel, and his itinerary, though covering less ground than John Wesley's or George Fox's, is a striking record of indomitable energy and courage. Perhaps even the number of sermons preached in seven consecutive years is less surprising than the number of *fasts* attended—151 fasts and 38 days of thanksgiving—a significant proportion ! Heywood was continually riding, in all weathers, through the valley of the Calder, and in Airedale and Wharfedale, with frequent journeys into his native county, preaching in private houses or in such churches as were opened to him, conducting fasts, taking part in ordination services. He spent many days with the Dyneley family at Bramhope, preached often in the chapel, and drew his congregation from both sides of the hill. He records a Monday service conducted with

the help of Mr. Crossley, the minister. The hour of commencement is not stated, but Mr. Crossley opened, and opening exercises were wont to be prolonged. At any rate Mr. Heywood went into the pulpit at 11 o'clock and "continued with abundant enlargement till 3.30." This was by no means all that a Puritan preacher could do, and a Puritan congregation bear. These notes of time amaze or amuse us in these days, but sometimes at least they set us thinking. What is the significance of the change in those who preach and in those who hear?

Still a little further along the ridge we come to the beautiful little Norman church at Adel. The minister there when the Act of Uniformity came into force was *Thomas Sharp*, a member of a distinguished Bradford family. From the Bradford grammar school he went on to Cambridge, where one of his tutors was another famous Yorkshireman, *Tillotson*. We like to remember that Tillotson received his early religious impressions in a Yorkshire meeting-house, where his father was a member, impressions not wholly effaced from the broad mind and large heart of the Primate of later years. Sharp had to resign his living at Adel, and retired for a time to the family house at Horton Hall. There he often preached to Bradford folk, taking advantage of his licence to hold services in private houses. A little later he joined, or succeeded, Richard Stretton at Mill Hill chapel, Leeds. He must have been a strong, capable, lovable man, one of the scholar-saints of 17th century Puritanism. His brother Abraham, mathematician and astronomer, was one of Bradford's notables, and his cousin John was Archbishop of York when the century ended.

In drawing these notes of persons and places to a close, let me say that so far as my research has

enabled me to form an opinion, Wharfedale Puritanism was mainly of the Presbyterian type, and left few memorials behind it in the way of church-buildings and gathered congregations. Several private houses, however, were licensed in the district, as at Cawood, Tadcaster, Guiseley and Healaugh. The last named has special interest. *John Gunter, LL.B.*, who lived and preached there, seems to have acted also as steward to Lord Wharton, the Puritan nobleman who founded the Bible Charity. Lord Wharton did not spend much time on his Yorkshire estates, but the "Bible Lands" which endowed the charity were in the neighbourhood of Wetherby. I need not allude to the misappropriation of the funds by the Church of England, nor to the restoration of them in part to the uses intended by the Puritan donor, largely through the persistent efforts of Mr. Bryan Dale.

Joseph Hunter gives much interesting information as to the number and constitution of Dissenting churches at the close of the 17th century. In the West Riding there were some 40 of these, each with one or two pastors. They were all Presbyterian or Independent; chiefly the former; in some the two were united. Nonconformity was strongest in the parish of Halifax. Leeds had its Presbyterian congregation at Mill Hill, and its Independents at Call Lane. The numbers attached to these Yorkshire churches surprise us, but I do not know on what basis the calculation was made. Mill Hill had its 600, Call Lane its 800, whilst a community at Sheffield is given as over 1,000. And in some of the smaller towns and villages the numbers are more surprising still. Nonconformity must have been vigorous in our valleys and on our hills during the period which followed the ejection of 1662. Of the great changes that took place in the "Old Dissent" in the 18th century, and the bitter con-

troversies associated with them, I must not speak.

But I think I ought not to conclude without noting that as the heroic age of Puritanism closes, there is a social change of an ominous kind. I do not deny that change was inevitable, and indeed to be desired. Puritanism had its limitations and defects. Many restrictions upon the full development of human nature and society had to be removed. There was no finality either in its creed or its habits. But there was a social and ethical reaction among people of all classes which was deplorable and disastrous. Dr. Gardiner points out that what had appealed most strongly to serious, right-minded Englishmen when the century started was not Genevan theology, potent as that was, but "the demand for a purer morality." Even the prohibitions and taboos of the Commonwealth are not to be understood if we take no account of this deep, ethical motive. With the restoration of the Stuarts came widespread corruption of manners and morals. I must content myself with a single illustration.

I have found among the publications of the "Surtees Society" *The Diary of a Yorkshire Knight*, written about the close of the century. His estates lay 'twixt Aire and Wharfe and his friends were largely Wharfedale squires. We meet with the familiar names, but with a new generation we are in a different atmosphere. Much of the old seriousness and public spirit is wanting. The greater interests of life receive less attention. There is not the same solemn sense of duty to God and man. The diarist and his friends spend many days in cock-fighting. "Cockings" at Otley and elsewhere are treated as great events. Before the Commonwealth this brutal sport was common, and Puritan gentlemen had not been ashamed to join in it. It was only under the Protectorate it became

"disreputable." Cromwell did not condemn all sport; far from it. His habit of life was not as ascetic and austere as some have supposed. There was music and dancing when his daughters married. He loved horses, like Fairfax, and occasionally hunted and hawked. His personal attitude to horse-racing is not known. If he suppressed it, it is said it was not because he thought it immoral, but because race-meetings were used by "malignants" for political purposes. But he put down "cock-fighting and bear-baiting" because he deemed them brutal and brutalising. His speech in condemnation of these sports is characteristic. It contains sentences like these: "If God give you a spirit of reformation you will prevent this nation from turning again to these fooleries, and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing! Then mercy and truth shall meet together. There is a good deal of truth among professors, but very little mercy .... But when we are brought into the right way we shall be merciful as well as orthodox, and we know who it is that saith: 'If a man speak with the tongues of men and angels and yet want *that*, he is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.'"

Unfortunately the nation did turn again to these fooleries. With the Restoration many coarse passions, which the Protector's strong hand had held in check, broke loose. Comus and his crew ran riot. Especially, I think, did a change set in among the class to which Hampden and Cromwell, Fairfax and Vane belonged. Contrast the men of the Long Parliament with the members of the House of Commons not only at the close of the 17th but through the greater part of the 18th century. I think the prevailing type is different, and it is lower. The Puritan gentleman was more of a gentleman than his successor.

Mark Pattison held no brief for the Puritans. He criticised with some severity the influence of Puritan ideals upon the genius of Milton. Yet in his monograph on the poet he described the Restoration as "a moral catastrophe." I think the catastrophe was not so sudden or overwhelming as the writer asserts. What was best in Puritan England was not utterly crushed or swept away. It remained as a wholesome influence in the nation's thought and religion and life. And may I not claim that what is purest and best in the spirit that is animating and sustaining our people in the great conflict of today is not only in harmony with the higher Puritanism, but is in part due to its spiritual influence transmitted from generation to generation ?

The Will of the Rev. William Berman

THE Rev. William Berman (also spelled Bereman, Beerman, and Bearman) was lecturer at St. Thomas's, Southwark, until ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He never afterwards undertook a pastorate, but attached himself to the church gathered by the Rev. Joseph Caryl, and afterwards presided over by John Owen, Isaac Chancey, Isaac Watts, etc. He was evidently a wealthy man, and in his lifetime founded and endowed certain almshouses in Hoxton, which still bear his name.

William Berman's will is very full, and is a very striking testimony to the accuracy of Palmer's continuation of Dr. Calamy's account.

Its first three paragraphs run as follows:

I *William Berman* of Hogsden [*sic—note its variation from the older spelling "Hogsdon"*] Square in the parish of Shoreditch in the county of Middlesex, minister of the Gospell, this one and Thirtieth day of October in the year of our Lord Christ one Thousand Seven Hundred, make this my last Will and Testament, and—First, I doe revoke all my former Wills, I desire that my body may be buryed in *old Bethlem* in the said county of Middx, where my last wife was buryed (if it may bee conveniently)

As to such worldly Estate personall as the Lord hath been pleased to bestow upon me I dispose, give, and bequeathe the same as followeth, *i.e.*

The several items I abbreviate; but give them in their order:

1 To *the Lady Garrett the elder my Kinswoman* 20/- for a ring.

2 To my *Cozen Ellen Harvey* of the Towne of *Great Yarmouth*, £50; and £8 a year to her *for her life* (in equal quarterly payments free of all Taxes)

3 To my *Cozen*, *Mrs. Edwards*, widow, living upon or near London Bridge £5.

4 To my Cozen, *Benjamin Waters*, a carpenter in Spittlefields, £100; and

5 To my Sister *Mrs. Stanfield* widow £20 over and besides a yearly payment for her life which I have otherwise provided for her.

6 To *Mrs. Clerke*, one of the daughters of my Brother *William Alsop* £5; and

7 To the other two daughters of the said William Alsop £10 a-peice (*sic*)

8 To *Doctor Isaac Chancey* of London, minister of the Gospell, and to *Mr. Terry* and Mr. *Richard Taylor*, ministers of the Gospell, dwelling in or near London £5 a peice.

9 To the *Lady Vere Wilkinson* £5.

10 To my daughter in Law, *Hannah Berman* of *Jamaica*, widow £100, which I would have paid unto her or her order under her hand and seale attested by two or more credible witnesses (of which legacy I desire my executors to send her advice or notice within some little time after my decease)

11 To the Deacons of the aforementioned Doctor Chancey's congregation £10 for the releife (*sic*) of the poor of that congregation as the said Deacons from time to time shall see best.

13 To *Mr Bragg* the elder of Mile end Minister of the Gospell £5.

14 To Mr. *Ashwood*, Minister, £5.

15 To Mr. *Samuell Burlingham* of *Princes Street*, London £10; and to his daughters *Mary* and *Abigail* £10 a peice.

16 To *Mrs. Hawes* of Fenchurch Street, London, widow £10.

17 To *Mrs. Trist*, widow £10.

18 To *Mrs. Collier* of London, widow £20, to be by her disposed to poor people at her discretion, also

19 To the said *Mrs. Joane Foster* £10 to buy her mourniug.

20 To *Robert Harkshaw* of *Hogsden Square* aforementioned and merchant, to Mr. *William Eeles* of London, Grocer; and to Mr. *Joseph Watts* of Southwark, Cheesemonger, £100 each of them, besides £10 a peice to buy them mourning.

21 To the said *Robert Hackshaw's* wife £10 to buy her mourning.

22 To my present servant *Rebecca Booker* £10; and £4 to buy her mourning.

23 To my old Servant *Elisabeth Pitts* £5.

24 To such *Nonconformist Ministers* or the widdows of Nonconformist Ministers or such others as my executors, or the survivors, or survivor of them shall thinke objects worthy of releife £200.

25 To *Heptziball* (sic) *Freman* of Theobalds in the county of Hertford £5.

26 To Mr. *Edward Basse* Citizen of London £10.

27 To *Thomas Owen* of Greys Inne in the county of Middlesex Esquire £5.

28 To such of the *poore* of the parish of *Saint Thomas, Southwark*, where I was first a preacher of the Gospell £5 to be distributed by the Churchwardens of the said Parish as soon as may well be for such of the said poore as they shall see fitting.

29 To *Mr. Cooke*, now a Lodger in my house (if he shall be liveing with me att my death) £10 to buy him mourning.

——— All which legacies I hope my Executors will take care to pay within one year next after my death.

But I would have all the moneys given by me for mourning Togeather with my funerall charge to be forthwith and as soon as conveniently may be paid after my decease.

And I would not have above the sume of One Hundred pounds expended in my funerall over and besides the mourning hereby given.

——— And of this my Will I doe constitute, declare and appoint the said Robert Hackshaw, William Eeles, and Joseph Watts executors in Trust to the intent they and their survivors and survivor of them doe see this my Will performed.

30. And if *any residue* shall be of my personall estate, after my funerall charge and legacies paid and discharged, I devize the same to the said R.H., W.E., and J.W. for this purpose and intent—that they *dispose* the proceeds thereof *to such uses as I have directed them*, or Lay the same out in the purchasing of some estate or estates in houses or lands of Freehold or Leasehold as they shall find convenient. And the rents and profits of such purchased estate or estates I would have from time to time disposed of and laid out in such manner as they, their heirs or Assignes, shall see convenient, and according to my directions to them given by word or writing.

——— In witness whereof I the said *William Berman* have

hereunto sett my hand and seale, declaring this to be my last Will and Testament the day and year above written.

WILLIAM BERMAN,

Signed and sealed and published by the said William Berman as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of

WILLIAM LONGUEVILLE, EDWARD PORTER, THOMAS WATSON.

Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 11 October 1703. { Sworn by the 3 Executors. }

The sums named in the above amount in all to £1,315: £65 of which is to be spent in mourning, etc., £225 is left to "ministers of the Gospell"; £10 to be given to the relief of the poor in Dr. Chancey's congregation, and £5 for a like purpose in the parish of *St. Thomas, Southwark.*

Note on the above named ministers:

1 *Dr. Isaac Chauncey* (who was M.D. *not* D.D.) is commemorated by Calamy (III. 381) as *ejected* from Woodborough, Wilts., as sometime pastor of a Congregational church at Andover, and some time after 1672 as coming to London with the design to act chiefly as a physician. But in 1687 he accepted the charge of the church of which Caryl, Dr. Owen, Clarkson and Loeffs had been successive ministers, and there he remained 14 years; *i.e.* till 1701. *Isaac Watts*, who had been his assistant two years succeeded him, accepting office March 8th, 1701. When Mr. Berman made his Will therefore Dr. Ch. was still pastor, with Isaac Watts as his assistant. He was "licensed" under the Declaration of Indulgence for Easton Town, near Winchester, May 1/72 [E (55)]; and acted as agent for several country brethren.

2 Mr. Terry is *Edward Terry* (Cal. II. 447, 448), ejected from *Greenford Magna*, in Middlesex [4 m. N.W. by N. of *Brentford*], had been Fellow of University College, Oxford, and a successful teacher there before he settled at Greenford in 1661, so that he continued there only a year.

He lost his sight *some years* before his death in 1716, so

that he may have been blind when William Berman was moved to remember him in his Will to the extent of £5.

3 *Richard Taylor* (Cal. III. 473) was ejected from *Holt*, in Derbyshire. After preaching 12 months in Holt, after his silencing in 1662, he removed to London, and became pastor of a congregation at *Barking*, Essex. But there must be a mistake in Calamy's date for his death in 1697, for that is *three years* before Berman's remembrance of R.T. in his Will, or it must be another Richard Taylor who is referred to.

4 *Mr Bragg the elder* was *Robert Bragg* of Wadham College, Oxford (Cal. I. 83) who settled as minister of *Allhallows* the Great. After his ejectment he gathered a church in this parish of which he continued pastor to the day of his death in 1704.

5 *Mr. Ashwood* was not one of the ejected, but the *son* of one Mr. Bartholomew *Ashwood*, ejected from Axminster, who Dr. Calamy says *died in Peckham*. He was doubtless living in Peckham, when remembered by Berman in his Will.

G. Lyon Turner

The Story of the Western College

THE *raison d'être* of the Western College is to be found partly in the exclusion of Nonconformists from the national Universities after the Ejection of 1662, and partly in the religious needs created by the great growth of Arianism, even in Nonconformist circles, during the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The ejected ministers were University men—the "most learned," says the historian Green, "and the most active of their order"; and an educated ministry was the ideal and generally also the realisation of the first Nonconformist Churches. But with the Universities closed against Nonconformists other means of educational equipment had to be sought if such a ministry were to be continued. Small seminaries for the purpose were established in various parts of the country as opportunities offered and means were available—the Fund Board of the Independent Churches, established in 1695, and which still exists, taking a leading and an effective part in this laudable enterprise. Eventually, in 1752, at the instance of a number of Congregational ministers meeting privately at Exeter, and in conjunction with the Fund Board, the Western College was founded, having in view the continuance of the educated ministry which the Congregational churches favoured, and of an Evangelical ministry also, in counteraction of the Arianism and Socinianism which had come into prominence in almost all the Churches, Established and Non-established.

The first home of the College—"The Western Academy" it was then called—was in Ottery St. Mary, whither the Fund Board sent four men who had already received classical tuition in their London Academy. The Rev. John Lavington, the minister of the Congregational church in that town, was the first tutor. He held the post for twelve years, dying on December 20th, 1764. He was a man well fitted both intellectually and spiritually for the task committed to him. The Rev. James Rooker, of Bridport, a contemporary, bore this testimony: "Mr. Lavington's pupils have all come out sound in the faith, and have been generally acceptable to the churches." Even the Rev. Micaiah Towgood, a tutor of another Academy at Exeter, though not holding the strong Evangelical views of Mr. Lavington, yet testified of him from his pulpit

the Lord's Day after his death: "He was more pious, more learned, and more useful than us all." The Academy premises, situate in their own enclosure, and possessing a fairly large lawn-garden, fronting Broad Street, still exist, and are in the occupation of Messrs. Hartley and Thomas, solicitors, with Mr. Thomas in residence.

The following were Students at *Ottery*, 1752-64. (18)

	Ministry commenced	
	1754	Joseph Wilkins; Weymouth.
	1756	Thomas Bishop; Westbury, Frome, etc.
		John Punfield; Wimborne and Birmingham.
		Nicholas Cross; Trowbridge.
		Daniel Varder; Sherborne.
		— Noble; died while a student.
	1757	Samuel Buncombe; Crediton and Ottery.
		William Watkins; Appledore and Puddington.
	1759	Richard Evans; Appledore.
	1761	William Gray; Stalbridge.
		Samuel Leatt; Otterton and E. Budleigh.
		William Miller; Fareham and Bicester.
	1765	John Lewis; Sherborne, Broadway, etc.
	1766	Abdiel Edwards; Glastonbury and Taunton.
A		William Cooper; Tadley and Chelmsford.
		Richard Parminter; Wiveliscombe and Wellington.
	1767	James Bowden; Fareham and Tooting.
	1768	Samuel Badcock; Barnstaple and S. Molton. (E)
		Two brothers Bowden, Christian names unknown, died before settling.

[A. Removed to Bridport.]

For the next sixteen years (1764-80) the Academy was conducted at Bridport under the care of the Rev. James Rooker. In these early years of the institution its locality was determined by the fact that the tutor under whose care the Academy was placed always combined with tutorial duties the pastoral charge of a church. Mr. Rooker was assisted by the Rev. Samuel Buncombe, who had been a pupil of Mr. Lavington's, and had succeeded him in the pastorate of the Ottery St. Mary church. Mr. Buncombe was engaged specially to give classical aud other instruction preparatory to the theological course, and it is recorded of him that he was "an industrious and devoted servant of the Saviour, very remarkable for his strict and orderly attention to his duties." Twenty students altogether passed through the Academy while it remained at Bridport.

Students at *Bridport*, 1764-79. (11)

1772 Jacob Hayes ; Broadway and Ilminster.
John Mark Moffatt ; Nailsworth and Malmesbury.
1775 William Varder ; Cerne Abbas.
Benjamin Seaward ; Charmouth and Barnstaple.
John Reed Harris ; Lyme Regis and Ilminster.
1777 Herbert Mends ; Sherborne and Plymouth.
1778 Nicholas Shattock ; Martock and Ilfracombe.
Joseph Chadwick ; Wellington, Sherborne, and Oundle.
1779 James Hook ; Beer and Fowey.
1780 Isaac Tozer ; Charmouth and Taunton.
B 1781 Richard Fay ; Warminster and Billericay (afterward Unitarian).
[B. Removed to Homerton Academy.]

On the death of Mr. Rooker the Academy was removed to Taunton and placed under the care of the Rev. Thomas Reader, "Good Mr. Reader" as he came to be called, a student of Dr. Philip Doddridge's, and minister of Paul's Meeting in that famous Puritan town. He presided over the institution for fourteen years (1780-94). Among the students trained by him were the Revs. Samuel and William Rooker, the latter the father of the late Mr. Alfred Rooker, of Plymouth, a name of blessed memory still in the town where he did so much for Congregational Christianity. His daughter survives him, and is a generous supporter of the College with which her family have been so long, so intimately, and so honourably associated.

Students at *Taunton*, 1780-94. (19)

1783 James Stoat ; Ashburton.
Richard Taprell ; S. Molton, Barnstaple, etc.
1785 John Varder ; Honiton, Ottery, Beer, etc.
— Lawrence ; Truro. (E)
1786 James Small ; Axminster.
John Saltren ; Bridport.
1789 John Lewis ; Wareham, Worcester, and Wotton-under-Edge.
Samuel Rooker ; Taunton and Bideford.
John Parker (nothing known of him).
1790 Joseph Lamb ; Weymouth and Westbury.
1792 Richard Pearsall Allen ; Stonehouse, Exeter, etc.
William Rooker ; Chalfont and Tavistock.
1793 John Crook ; Broadway and Charmouth.
1794 Robert Crook ; Kingsbridge and Newton Abbot.
William Chaplin ; Totnes and Bishop's Stortford.
Thomas Bagehot ; Torrington (not pastor).
Thomas Pyke ; Waytown and Broadway.

C {1797 James Vickery ; Compton.
James Wheaton ; Lyme Regis.

[C. Removed to Axminster.]

Mr. Reader was followed in the tutorship by the Rev. Samuel Small, one of his old students, and as he was minister of the Congregational church at Axminster the Academy, according to the arrangement already referred to, was once more removed to its tutor's place of residence. Mr. Small carried on the work from 1794 to 1828, with great satisfaction to the Fund Board and the churches from the tutorial point of view ; but at times the number of students was discouragingly low. Fifty-three students altogether passed through the institution while it was housed at Axminster. One of these was the celebrated Richard Knill, the missionary ; his daughter, who passed from the earth-life a few years ago, became the wife of a future principal of the Western College : the Rev. Charles Chapman, M.A., LL.D., and helped him and the College with great ability and graciousness, which is not forgotten by any who knew her as the College "Mother" at Plymouth and Bristol. Mr. Small was a man of untiring energy. Besides the sole charge of the Academy he was accustomed to preach three times every Sunday ; and declined the proffered aid of an assistant tutor. In 1827 the Fund Board, on financial (and perhaps other) considerations, withdrew their support ; and the local committee issued an appeal to the churches of four south-western counties. It was felt that the constitution and the scope of the College should be enlarged, that the institution should go forward to a higher conception of educational requirement. Hence its curriculum was broadened and its tutorial staff increased ; a more collegiate constitution was adopted ; the rotatory character of its habitation was ended in favour of one fixed place of residence for tutors and students independent of the tutors' church connexions ; and practically the College was put upon the institutional footing on which it at present stands. Moreover, it was considered that a better centre of service of the churches and of interest in the Academy might probably be found than Axminster. When Mr. Small, in 1828, resigned the theological tutorship on the ground of failing health only one student remained, who was placed temporarily under the care of the Rev. S. Rooker, of Bideford.

Students at *Axminster*, 1796-1818. (53)

Robert Evans (nothing known of him).
1801 John Melhuish ; Wincanton.
1802 Roger Seaward ; Sidbury (afterward Unitarian).
Joseph Buck ; Wiveliscombe.

1804 William Heudebourck ; Teignmouth and Bishop's Hull.
John Boutet Innes ; Trowbridge, Camberwell, Weymouth, and Norwich.
Henry Besley ; various places, then Ilfracombe.
1806 Robert Winton ; Chard and Bishop's Hull.
William Evans ; died while a student.
1807 Isaac Tozer, junr. ; Teignmouth, Tooting, Frome.
1808 Ambrose Garrett ; Bere Regis, America, Hindon.
John Smith ; Melbourne and Wickford.
John Stoat ; East Budleigh.
1810 Robert Tozer ; Taunton, Marlborough, Witney.
1811 Charles Smith, M.D., Australia.
1812 John Harcombe Cuff ; Wellington.
Saml. H. Hannaford ; Broadchalk, Corfe Castle, and Martock.
James Trowbridge ; Cerne Abbas.
John Bounsall ; St. Columb, St. Ives, and Ottery.
Thomas Chaffey ; Bulford, and Greenhithe.
1814 David Parker, M.A. ; Ashburton, America, etc.
William Coombs ; Bradford-on-Avon.
1815 Charles Gribble ; Braunton, Exmouth, etc.
1816 Richard Knill ; India, Russia, Wotton-under-Edge, and Chester.
1817 William Seabrook (Baptist).
1818 James Hart ; Falmouth, Tregony, etc.
Joseph Corp ; Bridgwater, and Kingswood.
John Everett Good ; Salisbury, Shoreham, etc.
1821 Josiah Davies ; Kingsbridge.
John Horsey ; East Budleigh, Launceston, etc.
Theophilus Davies ; Stourbridge, Ludlow, Hungerford, etc.
Thomas Petherbridge (Baptist).
1822 Edward Paltridge ; Ilminster, and S. Petherton.
Thomas Whitta ; Tiverton, Chalford, Banbury, etc.
John Allen ; Chudleigh.
T. R. Carey ; Callington, and Stringston.
John Barfit, F.S.A. ; Launceston, Salisbury, etc.
1823 Thomas Collins Hine ; Ilminster, Plymouth, and Sydenham.
J. Tucker ; (E)
Charles Treveal ; Buckfastleigh, Cawsand, and Mevagissey.
Daniel Currie ; Crondall, afterwards tutor.
William Richards ; Milborne Port.
1824 Moses Brown Diffey ; Home Missionary Society.
1825 Joseph Hyatt ; Wilton, Gloucester, and Long Ashton.

1826 Robert Collins ; Newnham, Tetbury, etc.
Philip Kent ; Ilminster, etc., afterwards District Secretary, British and Foreign Bible Society.
1827 William Croome ; Dulverton, etc. (E)
James Cottle, D.D. (E)
J. F. Witty ; Frome. (E)
William Standerwick ; Dulverton, Broadway, and Canada.
William Blandy ; Crediton, and Chesterfield. (E)
1828 John Stevens ; New Hampton. Left the ministry.
D 1831 John Knight Field ; Ashburton. (E)
[D. Removed to Exeter.]

In 1829 the Academy was removed to Exeter. Here, in its remodelled and improved form, it was placed under the care of the Rev. George Payne, LL.D., who had previously been at the head of the Academy at Blackburn. The new foundation began with five students, two of whom came from Blackburn with Dr. Payne. The number soon increased to twelve, who were housed first in two houses in Alphington Terrace, rented and altered for the purpose, and three years later in Marlfield House, purchased at a cost of £2,600. From this time the institution came to be known as the Western College. The principal had as his assistants successively : the Rev. Daniel Currie, one of the students educated at Axminster ; the Rev. Jonathan Glyde ; J. W. Pope, M.A. ; O. W. Dobbin, M.A., and the Rev. Samuel Newth, M.A. ; the three last named becoming later and respectively LL.D., LL.D., and D.D. In 1837 the Congregational Fund Board resumed its former relations to the College ; and in 1838 the building was enlarged. As Dr. Payne was in great fame as a theologian and a philosopher, the College enjoyed at this time much prosperity in consequence, his published works giving the College a publicity and an importance far beyond the western counties. It is also notable that it was in his time, in 1847, that the College became affiliated with the London University, and that until it went to Bristol, in 1901, all its classical, mathematical, and philosophical studies were so arranged as to permit of students entering for the B.A. and M.A. degrees of that University.

Students at *Exeter*, 1829-45. (34)

1832 James Gregory ; Sidbury and Thornton (Yorks.).
1833 John Edwards ; Bideford, Kingston, Newry, etc. (afterward Presbyterian)
[These two came with Dr. Payne from Blackburn.]
1834 James William Gordon ; India (L.M.S.).

Evan Davies ; Penang (L.M.S.), Walthamstow, Richmond, etc.
Matthew Henry Hodge ; Wiveliscombe, and Australia.
1835 John Chapman Davie ; Torrington, Wells, etc.
Samuel Wolfe ; Singapore (L.M.S.).
1836 John Farnham Guenett ; Weymouth, Bury St. Edmunds, Exmouth.
Thomas Lawes Adams ; Wiveliscombe, etc.
John White Pope, LL.D. ; tutor, afterward Exeter and Dorchester.
1837 Henry Addiscott ; Torquay, Maidenhead, and Taunton.
1838 Henry Frank Holmes ; Wendover, Devonport, Buckingham, etc.
John Poole ; Dulverton.
1839 William Flower ; India (L.M.S.).
William Clarkson ; India (L.M.S.), Folkestone, Bideford, Croydon.
Samuel Martin ; Cheltenham and Westminster.
1840 Thomas Slatyer ; South Seas (L.M.S.), etc.
John Hay Bowhay ; Hertford, Teignmouth, Dartford, etc.
John Henry Budden ; India (L.M.S.).
1841 R. Dracup ; died while a student.
1842 Thomas Baron Hart ; Tregony, Paris, etc.
James Davenport Elliott ; Bolton. (E)
1843 Marcus Hopwood ; Thatcham and Ashburton.
Daniel Best Sherry ; Sherston.
James Baker ; Crediton and Sandford.
1844 John Tyeth Feaston ; Wotton-under-Edge, Birmingham, etc.
1845 William Cutland Fisher ; Horncastle, etc. (E)
Thomas L. Bright ; Newport, afterward Australia.
John Foster Newton ; Charmouth.
Philip James ; Lyme Regis.
J. W. Shelton ; (E)
F { 1848 William Henry Hill ; India (L.M.S.), and Faversham.
Richard Perry Clarke ; Darwen, Uxbridge, etc.
James Lee, M.A. ; Broseley, Portishead, etc.
[F. Removed to Plymouth.]

Again, however, in 1845, the College changed its place of habitation, this time to Plymouth, and Dr. Payne dying suddenly three years after this event, the post of principal was vacant for a year, Mr. Newth carrying on the educational work of the College all alone. Mr. (afterward Dr.) Alliott was appointed, who, along with Mr. Newth, led the College to a great height of prosperity, usefulness, and even renown. Then Mr. Newth left to

become professor of mathematics at New College, London (where, later, he became principal), and was succeeded by the Rev. H. M. Griffith, M.A. Three years later, in 1857, Dr. Alliott also left, having been appointed the principal of Cheshunt College; and in the same year Mr. Griffith accepted the headmastership of Taunton Independent College for Boys. The Rev. F. E. Anthony, M.A., an *alumnus* of the College, was then appointed in succession to Mr. Griffith, and he continued as tutor in classics, mathematics and New Testament exegesis for forty-four years with great diligence and ability, till his work was taken over by the professors of Bristol University. He died in 1908. In the same year (1857) in which Mr. Anthony began his work for the College, the Rev. J. M. Charlton, M.A., was appointed to succeed Dr. Alliott. From the time of its coming to Plymouth the College had had to be content with buildings rented and adapted to its purposes, first in Wyndham Square and afterward in Radnor Place; but shortly after Mr. Charlton's accession to the principalship a scheme was set on foot for the erection of proper collegiate buildings, and in 1862, at a cost of £6,500, a very fine structure arose on Townsend Hill, Mannamead, one of the best sites in all Plymouth, and commanding a magnificent view, including Plymouth Sound. One of the most zealous and generous promoters of the building scheme was Mr. Alfred Rooker, and the greater part of the cost was met by the moneys obtained by Mr. Charlton's own personal influence and labours.

Mr. Charlton died in 1875, and was succeeded in the summer of 1876 by the Rev. Charles Chapman, M.A., LL.D., who had passed through the College curriculum in the same years as Professor Anthony. Dr. Chapman continued in the principalship for the next thirty-four years with great honour to himself, and with immense benefit to the College intellectually, socially and spiritually, both within the College circle and without; and he is still principal-emeritus, with a seat on the College council, and occasionally journeys from Torquay, where he now resides, to help the beloved College with his wisdom and encouragement—the grand old man of Western Congregationalism, who, unlike many, is only more a *persona grata* the older he grows.

In 1886 yet another former student of the College, the Rev. Thomas Stenner Macey, B.A., was appointed to the professorship of Hebrew and Comparative Religion which he still holds, and in the exercise of which he has been and is so eminently helpful to his men. It is thus a singular but pleasing fact that three professors: Mr. Anthony, Dr. Chapman and Mr. Macey, all *alumni* of the College, and all of whom graduated at the London University during their collegiate course, were long associated, and, as their friends well know, in absolutely unbroken and

beautiful fellowship, in helping their *Alma Mater* to realise the educational and Christian ends for which it was established.

While the work at Plymouth was thus going on most satisfactorily, an event occurred which was of considerable importance to the College and to the interests of ministerial education generally in the West. From 1863 there had been carried on at Bristol an institution called "The Bristol Congregational Theological Institute," which provided a certain measure of education for men who were unable for various reasons to undergo a longer and fuller course of training. Eventually it was felt to be undesirable to continue two institutions for ministerial training in the west of England; and on July 7th, 1891, an arrangement was come to with the full consent of the institute's committee and supporters, for the incorporation of the institute with the Western College; provision being made for a shortened course of study to meet the case of students of exceptional preaching capacity for whom the regular College curriculum of six years might be found impracticable or inexpedient. Accordingly a new Chair was created in the College in pursuance of this arrangement, a tutorship of classics and English literature, to which Mr. Charles Wilson, B.A., of Cambridge and London Universities, and a son of the Rev. Charles Wilson, M.A., formerly the minister of Sherwell church, Plymouth, was appointed. Mr. Wilson entered upon his work at the beginning of 1892, but the inability of the College to maintain the services of a fourth professor led to his retirement in 1895. The annual report of that year bore "grateful testimony to the high character and patient, painstaking and efficient labour of Mr. Wilson," and expressed the interest of the members of the College committee in, and their best wishes for, the future of "their esteemed and valued friend."

It may be added concerning the institute that its first principal was the Rev. E J. Hartland, who held the position for fifteen years (1863-78); that he was followed by the Rev. J. P. Allen, M.A., from 1879 to 1891, when the institute merged in the College; that the Rev. T. Broughton Knight, an old Western College student, was a tutor under both these principals from 1867 to the end, a period of twenty-four years; and that during the twenty-eight years of the institute's existence no less than one hundred and seventy men passed into the Congregational ministry through its portals, of whom between eighty and ninety are still alive.

Almost as soon as the amalgamation of the two institutions was effected, steps were taken to fulfil a growing desire to change the location of the College to Bristol, but difficulties for a time delayed the desired change. The removal was urged on the ground that Bristol possessed the advantage of a University College (now a University); that Bristol was more central than Plymouth for the area from which students to the College were drawn; that Bristol

was also a stronger centre of Congregationalism; and that in Bristol there was a Baptist College with which it might be possible to secure some measure of co-operation in fellowship and teaching that might be economically good for both Colleges, as well as good for higher reasons.

The final determining stage in the negotiations was reached on the 4th of March, 1901, when at an extraordinary general meeting of the subscribers it was resolved that the College should be removed to Bristol, the general committee being empowered to give effect to the resolution as soon as they could make the necessary arrangements. At the same meeting the trustees were instructed to sell the College buildings and lands at Plymouth subject to the best conditions possible. By September of the same year a most eligible and commanding site for the erection of a new College close to Highbury Chapel, Bristol, was purchased, and the large house upon the site adapted temporarily to educational requirements; arrangements were made for the boarding-out of the students, for their attendance at the classes at University College, and for collaboration with the professors and students of the Baptist College; and the College was in full working order, with brighter prospects than it ever had before. Mr. Anthony then ceased from regular duties, as has already been intimated, but was elected a professor-emeritus "in grateful recognition of a long life and conspicuous abilities devoted to the interests of the College." Moreover, no time was lost in disposing of the Plymouth premises and in pushing forward the erection of the proposed new College. Foremost of those who led the movement was Mr. Thomas J. Lennard, J.P., of Henbury Court, Bristol, the then treasurer of the College, to whose enthusiastic zeal and abounding energy, capacity and generosity it was mainly due that the foundation stones were laid on June 20th, 1905, and the new buildings opened on September 27th, 1906. The outlay, including the cost of the site, amounted to £16,000, and a very noble, beautiful and commodious pile of buildings is the old and honourable Western College's latest home. It was a grievous wrench to many in Plymouth and the neighbourhood to have the College detached from Plymouth and its premises there sold and converted into dwelling-houses, and all the denominational prestige, influence, and service lessened which came from the presence of the College among them. Also, very sacred associations had come to be formed between them and the College during its fifty-six years' stay in Plymouth; and they had never given it other than a kind and generous hospitality. All the same there has never been a doubt in the mind of the governing authority as to the wisdom and necessity of the transition to Bristol in the educational interests of the students, and in the general interest of the College and of the denomination at large. With all the students of the

College, also students for the arts course of Bristol University; with the professors and students heartily co-operating in certain studies and in fraternal fellowship with those of the Baptist College; and with the College situated more conveniently for obtaining students, and in the best centre of Congregationalism as well as of population in the West of England, it cannot be but that the College has a future before it that will far eclipse its usefulness and glory in the past. At all events it has never done so well educationally and influentially as since it went to Bristol, or stood higher in the estimation of the men and churches whom it specially serves, or in general public regard. When Dr. Chapman, full of years and honours, resigned the principalship in 1910, there was appointed in his stead the Rev. Robert Sleighthome Franks, B.A. (London), M.A. (Cambridge), B.Litt. (Oxford), whose high character and most competent scholarship are a sure guarantee that nothing will be lacking inside the College and under its *aegis* in the educational equipment and moral training and inspiration of the men who may seek its help. The greatest care also, we may be certain will always be taken both by him and Professor Macey to maintain the College's great evangelical tradition, only changed to be in harmony with the revelation of the ever-living Spirit of truth and salvation as it comes to us in the onward march of time.

This story of the Western College is made thus brief in order to comply with the limited condition under which it is told; it is but the College record in the merest historical outline, only enough to explain its origin and to demonstrate its bare outward historical continuity. But its greater and more inward record, the story of its work, who can tell *that?* That record is mainly known only on high. But at the least we know this, that from the day in which the College was founded until now, it has been sending into the home ministry and into the colonial and foreign mission field large numbers of men who have been good ministers of Jesus Christ, and not a few, like some of its own professors, who have been distinguished above many for their intellectual gifts and spiritual power. Among those who have passed to higher service in the "everlasting habitations," and who, while they sojourned here, had more than ordinary honour on the ground of character and ability, and for their work's sake in the Homeland, were: Samuel Martin, of Westminster; William Kingsland, of Bradford; Bryan Dale, M.A., of Halifax; Henry Thomas Robjohns, M.A., of Bowdon, Newcastle and Hull; Dr. Clement Clemance, of Nottingham and London; Dr. J. Hiles Hitchens, of London; while of the fifty-six whom the College has sent into the foreign mission field, every one of them a Christian hero, it may not be invidious to mention, in addition to Richard Knill, such well known men, now sainted, as: William Flower, Henry J. Budden,

Henry William Hill, G. M. Bulloch, and William B. Phillips, of India; Thomas Slatyer, of the Navigator's Isles; Stephen Mark Creagh, of the New Hebrides and the Loyalty Islands; J. L. Green, of the South Seas and Demerara; Albert Pearse, of the South Seas and New Guinea; and Roger Price, J. B. Thomson, and Howard Williams, of various stations in Africa. All over the world still the men of the Western College are found, faithfully, and some in a most marked and successful measure, doing their Master's work; while at Bristol, under the most up-to-date conditions of gaining knowledge and of training the mind, a new race of godly men and competent ministers and missionaries is continually being raised up and sent forth into the gospel field, which is as likely to gather a good harvest from off it to the saving glory of God as any generation has done. True to its *raison d'être*, and its now venerable tradition and practice, the Western College, standing well in line with the foremost efforts to make ministerial education competent for all its purposes and a real aid to an intelligent faith, yet cherishes nothing more as an ambition than that it shall be a training school of ministers and missionaries, who shall not only be well equipped in the general educational sense, but who above all shall be mighty in the Scriptures, apt to teach, and always living and working most really in the school of the Spirit of God, with all their soul on fire to make the whole human world acquainted with Christ and His truth, and to get it to trust His grace. In pursuance of this, its supreme end, may it always meet with the sympathy and practical support which such an aim deserves. For "there is no agency in the world which is more operative upon Society than the faithful preaching of the Gospel. There is none which demands more study, discipline and wisdom."

J. Charteris Johnstone

[A complete list of the students from the beginning (including those of the "Bristol Institute,") with *all* their various locations and dates of settlement, removal, and death, as far as could be ascertained, is given with the *Annual Report of the College for 1912*.

It may be noted that of 349 students entered between 1752 and 1901, 21 acceded to the Episcopal Church, three to the Presbyterian, four to the Baptist communion, and seven to the Unitarians. Thirty-eight became agents of the L.M.S.]

The Salters' Hall Controversy

IN Dr. Powicke's paper on *Arianism and the Exeter Assembly* it is stated (p. 36, ll. 4 flg.) that "by May, 1719, Advices had been received from London: of these there were two sets." The "Advices" emanated from the memorable Salters' Hall Conference, of which an account, at once concise and impartial, is given in Dale's *History of English Congregationalism*, pp. 535-538.

The conference was arranged by the committees of the Three Denominations; and its first meeting, on 19th February, 1718-9, was occupied with the discussion of a draft "Advice" to be sent to the churches at Exeter. At an adjourned meeting, on 24th February, it was proposed that the Advice should be accompanied by a declaration of the assembly's faith in the doctrine of the Trinity; but the proposal was rejected by 57 votes against 53. At a third meeting, on 3rd March, it was proposed that such a declaration should be subscribed without reference to the Advice to be sent to Exeter. This proposal the moderator, Dr. Oldfield, held to be irrelevant to the business under discussion, and refused to put it to the vote. Thereupon 60 of the ministers present immediately withdrew; and under the presidency of Thomas Bradbury held a separate assembly, the members of which, in addition to their Letter of Advice, *subscribed* to a declaration of their faith in the Trinity, in the words of the First Article of the Church of England and of the

5th and 6th questions of the catechism of the Westminster Assembly. The *non-subscribing* remnant at Salters' Hall sent likewise their "Advice"; and, while setting forth reasons for not subscribing to the declaration, disclaimed all sympathy with the Arian heresy.

It is of some historical importance to identify the subscribers and non-subscribers; to know which and how many of each party, and of their respective churches, yielded to the advancing tide of Arianism and Unitarianism; or forsook the cause of Nonconformity, "and having been unable to digest one article found it their duty to sign 39." This information Dr. Powicke gives us in the following tables.

In these lists the following abbreviations are used:

I., Independent; B., Baptist; (GB. and PB., General and Particular Baptist); P., Presbyterian; Sc.P., Scottish Presbyterian; *O.*, Orthodox; *A.*, Arian.

Browne: "History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk."

C.: "Calamy, Historical Account of his own life."

C. Cont.: "Continuation of Account of Ejected Ministers."

Cleal: "History of Congregationalism in Surrey."

Davids: "Annals of Nonconformity in Essex."

Ivimey: "History of the English Baptists."

James: "Presbyterian Chapels and Charities."

Neal: "History of the Puritans."

Summers: "History of the Berkshire, etc., Congregational Churches."

W.: Walter Wilson, "History of Dissenting Churches in London, etc."

The other references need no explanation.—ED.]

"Subscribers" (78)

Names of those who signed the "Declaration of Faith in the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity as revealed in the Holy Scriptures"; according to the first Article of the Church of England, and the Answers to the fifth and sixth questions in the Assembly's Catechism.

i. Pastors in and about London

1 P William Lorimer, S.T.P., Hoxton Academy
C. i. 324-5, *ii.* 464; *Monthly Repository, xvi.* 195; *W. iv.* 35; *his funeral sermon by Dr. Anderson, 27th October,* 1723, *two years after his death*

2 P Jere[miah] Smith, Silver Street (extinct orthodox, 1747); previously at Andover; died 1723
C. ii. 344, 413, 426, 465, 473; *W. iii.* 58-60; *James* 668

3 P Samuel Pomfret, Gravel Lane, Houndsditch, 1688-1722 (extinct)
C. i. 492; *ii.* 460; *W. i.* 397; *James* 669; *funeral sermon by T. Reynolds,* 1722

4 P W[illiam] Tong, Salters' Hall, 1703-27 (extinct orthodox after 1800)
C. ii. 41, 493, &c.; *W. ii.* 20-32; *James* 668

5 P B[enjamin] Robinson, Little St. Helen's, 1701-24 (extinct orthodox about 1790)
W. i. 373-80; *James* 668

6 P Tho[mas] Reynolds, Weigh-house, Little Eastcheap, 1695-1727
C. ii. 510, &c.; *W. i.* 157-169

7 I Tho[mas] Bradbury, New Court, previously Fetter Lane
C. ii. 301, &c.; *W. iii.* 450-52, 504-35

8 P John Mottershead, Queen Street by Ratcliff Cross (1698-1728); died 1728
C. i. 106, *ii.* 512; *W. iii.* 200; *James* 669

9 P Joseph Hill, Haberdashers' Hall, 1718-29 (extinct orthodox 1739)
C. i. 140, 348, *ii.* 522; *James* 668

10 B Tho[mas] Harrison, Little Wild Street, 1715-29; *afterwards conformed*
C. ii. 504; *W. i.* 383, 531; *Ivimey iii.* 568-72

11 P Daniel Wilcox, Mugwell, i.e. Monkwell Street, 1707-33 (extinct Socinian since 1816)
C. ii. 78; *W. iii.* 203-7; *James* 668

12 P John Newman, Salters' Hall; assistant to Mr. Taylor and Mr. Tong, 1696-1716; co-pastor with the latter, then pastor, 1716-41
C. ii. 493, 511; *W. ii.* 33-36

13 P Ja[be]z Earle, D.D. Edin. 1728, Hanover Street, Long Acre, 1707-62
C. ii. 513, 525, 529 ; *W. i.* 169

14 I Thomas Loyd, Nightingale Lane, near the Tower, 1700-21 (extinct orthodox by 1850)
C.H.S. Trans. iii. 72 ; *James* 691

15 P James Wood, New Court, Carey Street, 1713-20 ; also assistant to T. Reynolds, Weigh-house, 1720-27 ; sole pastor of latter, 1727-42
W. i. 172-7

16 I George Davy, Princes Street, Upper Moorfields (extinct) There in 1727 (at Peckham before 1716)
James, 680, 712

17 B John Skepp, Curriers' Hall, Cripplegate, died 1721
W. ii. 572-4 ; *Ivimey iii.* 363-6

18 I John Sladen, Dock-head, Southwark, 1711-33 ; then Back Street, Horsleydown
W. iv. 265-8 ; *James* 700

19 William Curtis

20 P James Matthews, King John's Court, Bermondsey (extinct) 1717-28
W. iv. 339. *James* 710

21 P John Barker, Hackney, 1714-38 ; Salters' Hall (morning preacher), 1741-60 ; died 1763
W. ii. 39-54 ; *Doddridge's Correspondence*

22 P Zachariah Merrill, Hampstead, —1732
C. ii. 465, 532 ; *James* 711

23 P John Beaumont, Deptford, Kent. There 1727
James 711

24 P Francis Freeman, Tooting, Surrey, 1696-1726
James 680

25 PB Da[vid] Rees, Church Lane, Limehouse, 1706-34 ?
Ivimey iii. 526-9 ; *James* 704

26 I Tho[mas] Mi[t]chell, Stepney ; died 1721
James 691

27 I John Nesbitt, Hare Court, 1690-1727
W. iii. 282-7

28 I Robert Bragge, Paved Alley, Lime Street, 1698-1738
C. i. 142 ; *W. i.* 241-9 ; *James* 713

29 I Matthew Clark, Miles Lane, 1692-1726 (extinct orthodox, 1796)
C ii. 47, 460, 465, 488 ; *W. i.* 474, 491

30 I Thomas Ridgley, Three-Cranes Court, Thames Street, 1695-1734 (extinct orthodox, 1798)
C. i. 181 ; *W. ii.* 72-81

31 PB John Noble, Tallow Chandlers' Hall, Dowgate Hill ; thence about 1728 to Maidenhead Court, Great

Eastcheap, 1690-1730 (extinct orthodox, 1760)
W. i. 458-60 ; *Ivimey iii.* 508-13

32 I John Asty, Ropemaker's Alley, Little Moorfields, 1713-30)
W. ii. 537-45 ; *James* 690, 712 ; *C.H.S. Trans. ii.* 280

33 B Edw[ard] Wallin, Flower-de-Luce Court (afterwards Maze Pond), 1702-33
Ivimey iii. 462-6 ; *W. iv.* 225

34 I John Foxon, Girdlers' Hall, 1705-23 (extinct orthodox, 1826)
W. iii. 172-4

35 ScP James Anderson, D.D. (Aberdeen). French Protestant Chapel, Swallow Street, Westminster, 1710-34
C. ii. 514 ; *W. iv.* 33-35 ; *James* 697

36 ScP John Cumming, D.D., Founders' Hall, Lothbury, 1716-29, afterwards London Wall ; died 1749
C. ii. 363, 524 ; *W. ii.* 487-94 ; *James* 668, 710

37 I John Killinghall, Deadman's Place, 1702-40
W. iv. 147-8 ; *James* 700 ; *C.H.S. Trans. ii.* 201-6, 281-9

38 P James Galloway, Parish Street, St. John's, Horsleydown, 1698-1727
W. iv. 278

39 I John Lewis, Meeting House Alley, Red Cross Street, 1710-21 (extinct 1760)
W. iii. 309

40 PB Thomas Dewhurst, Turners' Hall, Philpot Lane, 1716-23
W. i. 144-5 ; *Ivimey iii.* 350-3

41 P Isa[ac] Bates, Rosemary Lane, 1718-21 ; also Hoxton, 1700-30
James 669, 670, 696

42 ScP Patrick Russel, Crown Court, Covent Garden, 1710-46
W. iv. 4, 5 ; *James* 697

43 PB Mark Key, Devonshire Square, 1706-26
W. i. 437-8 ; *Ivimey iii.* 322-6

44 P W[illiam] Chapman, Bethnal Green, 1703-38
W. iv. 368 ; *James* 669, 696

45 I Samuel Harris, Mill-Yard, Goodman's Fields
C. ii. 466 ; *W. iii.* 311 ; *James* 713

46 I Thomas Masters, "The Point," Lower Rotherhithe, 1704-30 (extinct)
W. iv. 367 ; *James* 712

47 PB Edward Ridgway, Angel Alley, Whitechapel, 1715-29
Ivimey iii. 541[1]

48 GB Abra[ham] Mulliner, sen., White's Alley, Moorfields. "An Arminian"
Ivimey iii. 138 ; *James* 704

[1] Where it is erroneously said: "His name is not with those who attended the Conference at Salters' Hall in 1719."

49 P William Hocker, sen., Edmonton; afterward (1720) assistant to Saml. Pomfret, Gravel Lane, Houndsditch (extinct); died 12th December, 1721
W. i. 169 *note*, 397; *Funeral Sermon by Thos. Reynolds*, 1722; *James* 669-70

ii. Pastors in the Country

1 P Daniel Mayo, sen., Gravel Pit, Hackney, 1714-23; afterward Silver Street, 1723-33 (also contemporaneously at Kingston, Surrey, 1698-1733)[2]
C. ii. 534; *W. iii.* 60-64; *James* 697, 711

2 ? John Ollive

3 PB John Sharpe, Frome, Somerset
Ivimey iii. 165: "The Noble Stand," pp. ii., 9 note

4 P William Bushnell, Potter's Pury, Northants, 1712-38
W. iv. 167-72

5 I Stephen Crisp, Pinner, Middlesex, died 1729
James 691; *C. i.* 321 *mentions Samuel, son of Dr. Tobias Crisp; ? is this the same or his son*

6 I Peter Goodwin, Yarmouth; removed to London (Ropemaker's Alley) 1730; died 1747
W. ii. 545-7

7 I? Lachlan Ross, Abbot's Roothing; *Davids* 451

8 I Richard Pain, Lorimers' Hall, Moorgate Street, 1710-28; afterward Petticoat Lane, 1729-44 (extinct)
W. iv. 422-3; *James* 699, 712

9 John Foster. [? Sudbury, 1721—, *see Evans MS.*

10 P Samuel Bourne, Crook, nr. Kendal (?) There were three ministers of this name, father, son, and grandson. This must be Bourn primus; his son, who removed from Crook in 1720, had already shewn himself opposed to subscription; see *Older Nonconformity in Kendal*, by Nicholson and Axon, pp. 275-6
James 719.

11 I George Burnett, Reading, 1715-40
Summers 162-3

iii. Preachers Ordained or Licensed, not Pastors

1 P Harman Hood, Little St. Helens, Bishopsgate Street, before 1721, when he removed
W. i. 380-1; *James* 668

[2] There was another Daniel Mayo (? his son), at Kingston, Surrey, in 1727.

2 I John Conder, Assistant at Hare Court. "On both sides," see list of non-subscribers; died 1746
W. iii. 288; *James* 699

3 James Gillespy

4 William McClatchy

5 I Ph[ilip] Gibbs, Assistant at Paved Alley, Lime Street 1715-29; afterward at Hackney
W. i. 249

6 I John Hubbard, Stepney
James 691, 699, 712

7 William Benson

8 Merriman Norris. [Rye, *see Evans MS.*]

9 PB John Toms, Devonshire Square. He is mentioned as "one of the deacons," and again as "a deacon and minister" of this church; and took a prominent part in uniting it with the church at Turners' Hall
Ivimey iii. 157, 327; *W. i.* 439-40

10 James Wildman

11 I Peter Bradbury, brother and assistant to Thomas Bradbury at Fetter Lane and New Court, 1716-31
W. iii. 452-3, 535

12 I John Mitchell at Nightingale Lane, 1722-53?
James 700; *C.H.S. Trans. iii.* 72

13 I Thomas Charlton, Plasterers' Hall (extinct), afterwards Thatcham; died 1755
W. ii. 529-30

14 I Henry Francis, assistant to Mr. Foxon at Girdlers' Hall, 1718-23; at New Court, Carey Street, 1723-6; Southampton, 1726-52
W. iii. 502-3

15 I Joseph Tate, Pastor at Beccles, Suffolk, 1691-4; Girdlers' Hall, 1694-1707
W. ii. 519; *Browne* 463

16 Richard Glover

17 P Emmanuel Ellerker, at Woolwich in 1726; died 1727
James 664

18 PB Joseph Matthews, Cherry-Gardens, Horsleydown; 'Calvinist'
W. iv. 345; *James* 704

"Non-Subscribers" (73)

Names of those who subscribed the "Rules and Advices" which were "finished and agreed to, at Salters' Hall, March 18th, 1718-19, upon a general summons sent to the whole body."

i. Pastors in and about London

1 P. *O* Joshua Oldfield, D.D. (*cir.* 1656-1729), Moderator; minister of congregation in Maid Lane (extinct), 1700-29
C. Cont. i. 233; *C. i.* 223, &c.; *W. iv.* 160 *flg*

2 P. *O* John Sheffield (1653-1726), succeeded Nathaniel Vincent in 1697 as pastor of St. Thomas's, Southwark; died 24th January, 1726
Funeral Sermon by Calamy, who endeavoured to give him his true character; C. ii. 487; *W. iv.* 309 *flg*

3 P. *O* William Harris, D.D. [Edinb. 1728], Pastor at Poor Jewry Lane (extinct), 1698-1740
C. ii. 513; *W. i.* 66 *flg*

4 P. *O* Simon Brown, Pastor at Old Jewry, 1716-23
C. ii. 459; *W. ii.* 338 *flg*

5 P. *O* John Evans, D.D. [Edinb. 1728], Pastor of New Broad Street, Petty France (extinct), 1716-30
C. ii. 513, 522; *W. ii.* 212 *flg.*

6 GB John Savage, Millyard, Goodmans Fields; 7th Day Baptist
W. i. 320

7 P. *O* Samuel Wright, D.D. [Edinb. 1728], Pastor at Blackfriars 1708, afterward same congregation at Carter Lane; died 1746
C. ii. 514; *W. ii.* 139 *flg; James* 721-2

8 P. *O* Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D. [Edinb. 1730], Crosby Square (extinct), 1704-49; died 1758
C. ii. 489, 514; *W. i.* 344 *flg., iv.* 166

9 P. *O* John Ratcliff, Jamaica Row, Rotherhithe (extinct), 1705-28
W. iv. 353

10 P. *O* Samuel Rosewell, Silver Street (extinct); died 7th April, 1722 [son of Thomas Rosewell of Rotherhithe, see Neal iv. 618-20 Toulmin's Edn.]
C. ii. 462; *W. iii.* 49

11 GB. *O?* Joseph Jenkins, High Hall, 1709, and Duke Street, Southwark, 1716 (extinct)
W. iii. 395; *iv.* 160 *flg*

12 GB. *O?* Joseph Burroughs, Paul's Alley, Barbican (extinct), 1717-61. Headed deputation of the Three Denominations to King George I, 1727; *laterly inclined to Socinianism*
C. ii. 492; *W.* 3. 249 *flg.*; *Ivimey iv.* 204-11

13 P. *O* George Smyth, Gravel Pit, Hackney; died 1st May, 1746, aged 57
C. ii. 529

14 GB. *O?* Lewis Douglas, Virginia Street

15 I Jeremiah Hunt, D.D. [Edin. 1729], Pinners Hall (extinct) 1707-44
W. ii. 262 *flg.*; *James* 700. *Adds note*: "*It is difficult to say what he was*"

16 GB. *O* Isaac Kimber, Paul's Alley, Barbican (extinct); afterward Nantwich and Spitalfields
W. iii. 256 *flg.*, *iv.* 370; *James* 704

17 GB. *O* Sir Nathaniel Hodges, Spitalfields (extinct). Presented address of the Three Denominations to King George I, on 16th August, 1715; "the first Baptist to appear at Court." Afterward left the ministry, was knighted and made J.P. for co. Surrey
C. ii. 318-19; *W. ii.* 558, *iii.* 250; *Ivimey i.* 121, 343-4

18 P. *O* Benjamin Andrews Atkinson, Great St. Thomas Apostle (extinct); retired 1742, died at Leicester 1765
W. ii. 101; *James* 710

19 PB. *O* Richard Parkes, Sheer's Alley, White Street (extinct)
W. iv. 329

20 GB. *O* Nathaniel Foxwell, Fair Street (extinct); died 1721
W. iv. 258

21 I. *O* David Jennings, D.D. [St. Andrews, 1749], Gravel Lane, Wapping, 1718-1762
W. iii. 174; *C.H.S. Trans. vi.* 70, 71

22 P. *O* William Bush, Broad Street, Wapping, 1707-1740
James 696, 711

23 P. *O* Christopher Taylor, Hatton Garden. Sent by the Government, with Mr. Shute (afterward Lord Barrington), into the north "to encourage the nobility and gentry there to fall in with the Union," 1706
C. i. 49; *ii.* 349

24 P. *O* Thomas Cotton, last minister, 1699-1727, of St. Giles Meeting, Dyot Street (extinct), died at Hampstead, July 1730, aged 77
C. ii. 532; *W. iv.* 376 *flg*; *James* 706 (Spelt Colton)

25 GB. *O* John Ingram, Park (Chapel?) Southwark—an Arminian
James 704

ii. Country Pastors

1 P. *O* John Hughes, Ware. "Wrote one of the tracts most deserving of regard on the Salters' Hall business"
C. ii. 420 *note*; *Doddridge Correspondence i.* 54, &c.

2 P Thomas Sleigh, Highgate

3 I. *O* Moses Lowman, Clapham, 1714-52

Cleal 175 ; *James* 721

4 P. *O* Thomas Leavesley, Little Baddow, Essex. In 1725 succeeded Simon Brown at Old Jewry ; died 1737
W. ii. 358

5 P Richard Rigby, M.D., Reading
Summers 162

6 P Edward Bearne, Hammersmith, 1717-28
James 705

7 P. *O ?* Samuel Chandler, D.D. [Edin. and Glas.], Peckham, 1716-29 ; Old Jewry, 1729-66
C. ii. 364 ; *W. ii.* 360 *fig.* ; *Cleal* 19, 20 ; *James* 697, 723

8 P Richard Biscoe, M.A., Newington Green, 1716-1727
Afterwards conformed
C. ii. 364, 504

9 P Gabriel Barber, Brentwood, Essex

10 P. *O* William Jacomb (grandson of Dr. Jacomb), Mortlake, 1716-19 ; removed to Maidstone. *Afterwards conformed*
C. ii. 504 ; *Cleal* 195

11 P Samuel Highmore, Mortlake, 1719-1755 ; previously at Dorking, 1706-19
Cleal 195, 355

12 P John Bradley, Enfield
James 706

13 P. *O* Samuel Clark, D.D., St. Albans, 1684-1750
See Doddridge's Correspondence, passim ; and Urwick (Nonconformity in Herts) 192 *fig.*

14 P. *O* Samuel Oldfield, Ramsbury, Wilts. ; brother of Joshua Oldfield
W. iv. 157 ; *C. Cont. i.* 233

15 P or I. *O* John Eaton, Stoke Newington, 1719-34
W. ii. 82 ; *James* 711 "Presb.," 713 "Cong."

16 P. *O* Ebenezer Roscoe, Wantage, Berks., 1715-23
Summers 291

17 P. *O* Joseph Baker, colleague with John Walker at Brentford ; pastor there 1725
James 670, 711

iii. Lecturers and Assistants in London

1 P. *O* John Billingsley, Asst. to Dr. Wm. Harris at Poor Jewry Lane (extinct) ; died 1722
W. i. 79-82 ; *C. ii.* 273

2 P. *O* Samuel Baker, "In the Country" ; Lecturer at Salters' Hall, 1727-30 ; Parish Street, Southwark, 1730-48.
W. iv. 278 ; *James* 710

3 G. B? John Gale, D.Ph. (Leyden), Asst. to Joseph Burroughs at Paul's Alley, Barbican; died 1721. "He was never in pastoral charge, and consequently never ordained"; (*see* Life prefixed to Sermons, 1724)
W. iii. 242 *flg.*; *Ivimey iv.* 212-17

4 P. *O* Clerk Oldsworth, Assist. to Dr. B. Grosvenor at Crosby Square, 1715-26
W. i. 353; *C. ii.* 437

5 B Thomas Kerby, Glass-house Yard
Evans' MSS

6 P. *O?* James Read, Assist. to Thos. Reynolds, Weigh-house, 1707-20; afterward to Dr. John Evans, 1720-30, whom he succeeded at New Broad Street, 1730-55.
W. ii. 222 *flg.*, *i.* 164-5; *C. ii.* 364, 511, 528; *James* 722

7 P. *O?* Henry Read (brother of James R.), Assist. to John Mottershead, Ratcliff Cross, 1716-18; then to D. Wilcox, Monkwell Street, 1718-23; colleague and successor to John Sheffield, St. Thomas Southwark, 1723-74
W. iii. 207, *iv.* 312 *flg.*; *C. ii.* 364

8 P. *O* Joseph Bennett, Assist. to John Shower and Simon Brown at Old Jewry, 1708-26 (ordained with Calamy and five others, 22nd June, 1694). Calamy preached his funeral sermon, 1726
C. i. 348 *flg.*; *W. ii.* 331 *flg.*

9 P. *A* Benjamin Avery, LL.D., Assist. at Bartholomew Close; quitted the ministry about 1721; edited works by James Peirce; was first secretary to the Three Denominations; died 1764
C. ii. 488; *W. iii.* 381 *flg.*

10 P Daniel Burgess. This cannot be the celebrated preacher of New Court, for he died in 1713. It *may* have been a son or nephew. One of the name is said to have been secretary to the Princess of Wales, and to have suggested the *Regium Donum* in 1723
C. ii. 465, 520

11 P. *O* Thomas Newman, Assist. and successor to Dr Wright, Little Carter Lane, Blackfriars, 1718-58. Ord. 11th January, 1721
C. ii. 437; *W. ii.* 147 *flg.*

12 I. *O* John Conder, Assist. and Successor to Mr. Nesbitt, Hare Court, 1710-46. "Sided with both parties"; see list of subscribers
W. iii. 288

13 P William Hocker, Junr.

iv. Not Settled

1 P ? Thomas Petkin, afterwards of Great Marlow
Summers 55

2 P ? William Sheffield, formerly at Buckingham, afterwards Windsor, 1719-26, then Havering Cross, Essex, 1726-7
James 711 ; *Summers* 74

3 P ? Robert Billio, son of Robert Billio, who succeeded Dr. Bates at Hackney. He and his younger brother *afterward conformed*
C. i. 133, 418, *ii.* 504

4 I *A* Nathaniel Lardner, D.D. [Aberd. 1745], Chaplain, afterwards Assist. at Hoxton Square, 1727?-29 ; colleague at Poor Jewry Lane, 1729-51 ; died 1768. *Laterly Socinian*
W. i. 88-109 ; *James* 698, 713, 717

5 P *O* Samuel Savage. At Edmonton, 1727
James 706, 711

6 P *O* John Cornish, afterwards Assist. to Joshua Bayes at Leather Lane (extinct) ; died 1727
W. iv. 399 *fig.* ; *Funeral Sermon by Jos. Bayes*

7 P *O* John Cambden, late Windsor (to 1718) ; afterward Stockwell (1727)
Summers 73, 74 ; *James* 711

8 P *O* Obadiah Hughes, D.D. [Aberd. 1728], Assist., 1721-29 and pastor, 1729-44 at Maid Lane, Southwark (extinct Socinian, 1775) ; Princes Street, Westminster (Calamy's church), 1744-51
C. ii. 437, 514 ; *W. iv.* 96-102 ; *Funeral Sermon by Dr. Allen*

9 I ? Arthur Shallet, Stepney ; "left off preaching, 1719" (Evans MS.), but still at Stepney, 1727
James 691, 713
[One of this name was M.P., and a member of T. Gouge's congregation at Three-Cranes, 1697]
W. i. 140

10 Thomas Slater

11 I Robert [query Thomas] Lamb, at Bow Lane, Cheapside, 1727
James 713 ; *W. ii.* 105

12 B Amos Harrison, Croydon
Evans List

13 P Quintus Naylor. *Conformed about* 1727
C. ii. 505

14 P. *O* John Sharman, M.A., M.D., Assist. to Mr. Atkinson, Great St. Thomas Apostle; removed to Ware, 1729; and to Shepton Mallet about 1734; died 1754
W. ii. 103; *Urwick, Nonconformity in Herts*, 719

15 I Thomas Simmons. According to Evans's MS. Thos. Simmons of Wapping died in March, 1717-8. But perhaps Thos. Simmons of *Battersea* is meant,
cf. W. iii. 174

16 GB James Richardson. One of this name was at Fair-Street, Horsleydown, in 1727, perhaps a colleague with Ingram (*W. iv.* 262); a Mr. Richardson preached at the funeral of Mr. Mark Key of Devonshire Square in 1726 (*W. i.* 438); and was one of a deputation from the Three Denominations to Frederick Prince of Wales in 1728[4]
C. ii. 518

17 Richard Tuddeman
James 704

18 GB Matthew Randall, Virginia Street, Wapping, 1722-56
James 704; *Taylor ii.* 85-9

Absent or Neutral (See *James* 708-9)

i. Presbyterians (9)

1 John Munckley, Bartholomew Close (extinct) 1717-38; was at Exeter before 1717; died 1738
W. iii. 378-381

2 Joshua Bayes (1671-1746.) Assistant at Leather Lane, St. Thomas (extinct) 1713-46
W. iv. 379, 396

3 Dr. Edmund Calamy, Princes Street, Westminster
W. iv. 69-89

4 John Mottershead,[4] Queen Street, by Ratcliff Cross; died 1728
W. iii. 200; *James* 669

5 Caleb Norris, do., removed 1720
James 669

6 John Barker,[4] Hackney
W. ii. 39-54, *Doddridge Correspondence, passim*

---

[4] Can this be a mistake for *Thomas* Richardson, who was at Pinners' Hall (joint tenant) before 1721, and in that year removed to Devonshire Square? W. Wilson mentions him as a non-subscriber.

[4] These are also counted as subscribers, because they signed the "Declaration of Faith"; but are named here because they did not sign the "Advices."

7 Dr. Zephaniah Marryatt, Zoar Street (extinct) 1710-34
W. iv. 199-203
8 Johu Walker, Brentford ; died 1725
James 670
9 John Watson, Uxbridge ; died 1725
James 670

ii. INDEPENDENTS (5)

1 Dr. Isaac Watts, Bury Street, St. Mary Axe
W. i. 292-318
2 Samuel Price, Bury Street, assistant to Watts, 1703-13 ; co-pastor to 1748 ; successor 1748-56. *Do.*
3 Daniel Neal, Jewin Street, 1706-45
W. iii. 91-102
4 Thomas Hall, Moorfields
James 699, 712, 715. (misnamed John)
5 John Shuttlewood, Mill Yard

i. It will be noticed that, contrary to an oft-repeated statement, the subscribers were not predominantly Independent. There were more Presbyterians (29) than Independents (28), unless Baptists are added, which is natural. Nine are left unclassed.

ii. The belief that a large majority of the non-subscribers were Presbyterian is correct ; they were about two to one (47 or 48 out of 73.)

iii. But this does not imply that the Presbyterians generally were less orthodox. The real issue, though it became confused in discussion, was rather liberty of interpretation than orthodoxy.

iv. There are only two of the non-subscribers, Benjamin Avery and Nathaniel Lardner, who can be fairly classed as Arian. Four others: John Gale, Samuel Chandler, and the two Reads, may be considered as doubtful, but no more.

v. A comparison of these two lists would seem

to dispose of the notion that more churches of the non-subscribers became extinct than of subscribers, owing to the "Arian blight." General causes or local circumstances brought about the extinction of churches, whether orthodox or not. These are points which express for me, more or less, the moral of the lists.

F. J. Powicke

A Forgotten Congregational Hymn-Writer

IN *Trans.*, vol. iv, p. 190, mention is made of "Ann Rennew, the blind maid of Impington," whose hymns were formerly sung in a Baptist church at Cambridge. As no mention of this lady is to be found in Julian's great *Dictionary of Hymnology*, it seemed worth while to see what traces of her were discoverable at the British Museum. Under press-mark 3436 bbb. 7 appeared a 12mo. volume, entitled:

"Pious and Holy | BREATHINGS; | OR A | TREATISE | of Choice and Precious | HYMNS | Composed and branched out from di- | vers chosen *Texts* of *Scripture* out of | the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

Published and set forth as being proper | and useful to the State and Condition of | the Godly.

By ANN RENNEW, a blind | Maid, formerly Member of the Congre- | gational Church of Christ sometimes at | *Cottenham*, but is now join'd at *Cam | bridge.*

Printed for and sold by the Author, 1714."

A prefatory note "to the Reader," signed L.H., tells that the author was born at "Empington, near Cambridge"; where she lived on a moderate competency inherited from her parents, who "were not reckon'd of the meanest sort, but according to the manner of Husbandry liv'd with some Esteem and Credit."

There are 153 hymns, the last three of which are not numbered. All are in either LM, CM, or SM; but there is some variety in the rhymes; for

example, a LM will commence with alternate rhymes and end with couplets; or a CM will really be constructed, wholly or in part, on the pattern 4.4.6, 4.4.6. Awkward transpositions of words are few, but there are occasional grammatical solecisms, as "doth" for "dost" and the like, and a few provincialisms. Many of the pieces are scripture paraphrases rather than hymns; and of the rest the note is individual rather than Congregational. Of course the theology is strongly Calvinistic; but the general tone is at once peaceful and joyous. The blind maid can scarcely challenge comparison with Mason or Shepherd, and is not likely to be drawn upon by modern compilers; but her best hymns compare favourably with the effusions of Benj. Keach or Rich. Davis. The following may serve for a specimen:

No. 142. A Song of the Love of God

1. O God in thee I will rejoice,
   Whose wondrous Love I daily see,
   And I will with a cheerful voice
   New songs of Praises sing to thee.

2. Thou hast made me the better Part
   to chuse, while thou my Soul doth feast;
   Thou hast put gladness in my Heart,
   more than when Corn and Wine increast.

3. Or had I Rivers flow'd with Oil,
   it would not so my soul delight,
   As when my Lord on me doth smile,
   Who is a King that rules with Might.

4. I will lay down and take my Rest,
   in full assurance of his Love;
   I being one whom he hath bless'd,
   he never will from me remove

5. His Mercy and his boundless Grace,
   who doth my Heart to him unite;

I shall with Joy behold his Face,
who thus doth fill me with Delight.

6. He maketh me safely to dwell,
for I no evil thing do fear ;
He my dear Soul doth love so well,
for me he truly will appear.

7. Under the Shadow of his Wings
he carefully will save me sure ;
He is the mighty King of Kings,
Whose Love for ever will endure.

Price to Non-Members, 3/6 net.

Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

Vol. VII, No. 3] [MAY, 1917

Contents

Editorial - - - - - - 129

Nonconformity in Staffordshire, 1660–70 - - 132

Rise and Progress of Congregationalism in Worcestershire - - - - 146

Independency in "Little England beyond Wales" 154

The Gainsborough Bible - - - - 164

Henry Jacob's Church in New England - - 167

Laud's Inquisition, 1634 - - - - 180

The Canterbury Church-Book - - 181

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EDITORIAL

WE have again to apologize to our members for delayed publication. This is due to the retirement from business of our late printer, Mr. F. S. Thacker, to whom the Society is deeply indebted, not only for careful work, but for keen personal interest in its welfare. New arrangements for publication thus became necessary, which the Secretaries hope will give general satisfaction.

* *

Owing to war conditions, the May Meetings of the Congregational Union were reduced to a minimum. It was thought advisable therefore to dispense with the usual General Meeting of our Society. The Committee, however, met at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 9th May, to transact necessary business. An interesting paper was read by Rev. A. Gordon, M.A., which will appear in our next issue.

* *

A Correction.—In Cleal's *History of Congregationalism in Surrey*, p. 63, it is stated that Rev. Wm. Berry, of Warminster, was the first pastor of Camberwell Green Church. Mr. Cleal is not primarily responsible for this error, which he has taken over from Dr. Waddington's *Surrey Congregational History*. But the fact is that the first pastor of Camberwell Green was Rev. John Berry, a lineal descendant in the fourth generation of Colonel James Berry, the friend of Cromwell and Baxter. John Berry was born at Birmingham in 1757 ; studied at Homerton ; ministered at Shaftesbury 1778–80, at Romsey 1780–94, at West Bromwich 1794–96 ; was classical tutor at Homerton 1796–1800, pastor at Camberwell 1800–12, and—retiring through feeble health —was assistant at Carr's Lane, Birmingham, 1812–17. He died in 1821. He was the father of Joseph Berry, of Warminster and Reading, and of Cornelius Berry, of Hatfield Heath.

* *

Whitefield's "Weekly History," etc.—In the years 1741–42 a serial was published in small folio, entitled "THE WEEKLY HISTORY, or An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars relating to the

present Progress of the Gospel. By the encouragement of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield." Altogether 84 numbers were issued, some of which reached a second or third impression. A sequel to this appeared in 1742–43, in a different form, i.e. 12mo; the title now being "An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars Relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel." There were six numbers, usually of 84 pages each; three of which were designed to be bound up as "Vol. ii," and three as "Vol. iii." These are extremely rare; they are not to be found in the British Museum, Williams's Library, or the Wesleyan Bookroom; indeed the only copy which a diligent search has yet revealed is in the Congregational Library, where vols. ii and iii are bound in one.

What *seems like* a continuation of the same series is "The Christian History; or a General Account of the Progress of the Gospel in England, Wales, Scotland, and America; so far as The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, his Fellow-Labourers, and Assistants are Concerned." This is in small 8vo; the paging is continuous, 1–238. For half the extent there are no numbers or dates of issue, but the first sheet contains a letter dated 17 January, 1746; from p. 127 to the end the monthly issues were dated January to July 1748. An advertisement on the final page announces that "This is the last number of the Christian History that will be now printed." From first to last the publisher was John Lewis in Bartholomew Close.

Tyerman, in his *Life of Whitefield* (vol. ii, pp. 105–19), gives numerous extracts of letters from the "Christian History" of date 1744 flg., "a book (he says) now nearly non-existent." There appears to have been a serial entitled "The Christian History, containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain, America, etc.," published by T. Prince at Boston, Mass., in 104 weekly numbers, ending 23rd February, 1744–45. It is possible this *may* be the work from which Tyerman quotes. But it would be interesting to know whether that had any circulation in England, or was published in an English edition; or whether there was any English serial publication which would link up *The Christian History* of 1747–48 with the "Account" of 1743.

* *

Supplementary Note to "The Story of the Western College"; see vol. vii, pp. 98 flg.

The statement on p. 98, ll. 27–8, that the four men first sent to Ottery "had already received classical tuition in their London Academy" should probably read "had been examined by members of the Board, and found duly qualified." [The Fund Board had usually imposed on its students a severe entrance examination.] *Add*, "These students received from the Board an allowance of £12 a year each."

At foot of page 99 *add*, "There were usually seven in residence, who were each allowed £14 per annum."

On page 100, l. 20 (after date), *insert* "The allowance for the board of the students was £14 each; Mr. Reader received an honorarium as tutor of £20, and the expense of removing his library."

On page 101, l. 8 (after full stop), *add* "Here the allowance for each student was £20, and the tutor's honorarium £50." In line 11 (after full stop) *add* "Indeed in 1798 the Board resolved to discontinue the Academy; a prospect which was only averted by the interposition of the 'Western Calvinistic Association,' whose secretary reported that 'they were desirous of concurring with the Fund and the King's Head Society for the support of the Academy under the care of Rev. James Small.' From this time the academy ceased to be *entirely* dependent for support and direction on the Fund Board; but it frequently received liberal grants in aid, which since 1875 have been regarded as a regular source of income."

[The above correction and additions are from *A Brief Historical Sketch of the Educational Institutions Connected with the Congregational Fund Board*, by Rev. P. J. Turquand, 1896.]

Nonconformity in Staffordshire, 1660–70

THE first outstanding event that calls for attention is the ejection of ministers at Bartholomew-tide 1662. There were about 170 parish churches and chapels in the county, and from these, Calamy says, 48 ministers were ejected. Of only one of these, Richard Hinks of Tipton, does he state that he was an Independent. Perhaps also, on the evidence of the licences of 1672, Thomas Buxton of Tettenhall, should be so reckoned. Probably 4 of the 48 named by Calamy should be removed from the roll of honour; but two others at any rate should be added, one of whom is Dr. Robert Wild, the lampoonist, who was appointed to the living of Tatenhill in September 1660.[1]

Of these 46 ejections, 9 took place before August, 1662. Some of the ministers suffered acutely from poverty and persecution. It is significant that the author of the Fourth "Plea for Nonconformists" (1683) takes six of his instances of persecution from Staffordshire. Eighteen of the 46 appear in the Episcopal Return of 1669 as heads of conventicles either in Staffordshire or in neighbouring counties. In 1672 twenty-two of them were licensed to "teach" in Staffordshire, and twelve in other counties. As compared with the ejected ministers in other parts of England, a much larger proportion of those who thus suffered in Staffordshire, kept up public worship in their old parishes, and also survived the Toleration Act.

[1] For a list of those ejected, modified in accordance with the above reckoning, see *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, edited by William Salt Archæological Society, 1915: pp. lix.

Close on Bartholomewtide 1662, Hackett, then bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, issued a questionary entitled "Articles of Inquiry concerning matters ecclesiastical, exhibited to the ministers, churchwardens, and sidesmen of every parish within the dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry." Earlier in the same year an inquiry for the discovery of disaffection to the established church had been instituted by the civil authorities. The return made by the constable of Grindon, a moorland village near Leek, to the inquiries put to him by the High Constable of the Hundred of Totmanslowe, is still extant [see Sleigh's *History of Leek*, p. 196]. The bishop's questionary was far more comprehensive, and no small part of it was aimed at the rooting out of dissent. Of the parson it was asked, Is he episcopally ordained? Has he satisfied the requirements of the Act of Uniformity? Does he read the Services for 5th November, 30th January, and 29th May? Doth he take diligent care to reduce all Sectaries, Separatists, and Refractory persons to the obedience of the doctrine and government of this church? And doth he offer himself, being an able learned man, to confer with Popish Recusants to convert them? If there be a Lecturer does he read the Book of Common Prayer service fully once a month? If a stranger comes to a church, he is not to be allowed to occupy the pulpit unless he show his Orders, and his licence to preach. "Such as may be discerned to be Papists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, Anabaptists, Separatists, Quakers, and the like, are not only to be presented, but 12d. is to be levied on every such person, and so many of them, for every Sunday as absent themselves from the church, and to be employed in the maintenance of the poor; whereof account is to be made to the Justices of the Peace." Those who have conventicles in their houses and those who keep their children unbaptized are to be reported. The records of Presentations in the ecclesiastical courts are more nearly complete for 1665

and 1668 than for any other years. In 1665 there were 110 dissenters presented, of whom 35 were excommunicated. In 1668 there were 184 presented, of whom 25 had already been presented in 1665, and 151 were excommunicated.

For the years 1663 and 1664 we have some light on Staffordshire Nonconformity from a series of letters preserved among the State Papers in the Public Record Office [Calendar S.P.D. 1663, 1664]. Sir Bryan Broughton, one of the Justices for the county, from his residence at Beaudesert, near Lichfield, wrote to inform the successive Secretaries of State—first Bennet and later Sir Joseph Williamson—what was going forward in the parts within his own jurisdiction and its neighbourhood. Rightly or wrongly, Broughton believed that, with the aid of his "never-erring scout," he was unravelling a whole network of intrigue which spread from London through Staffordshire as far as Scotland and Ireland. Suspicion fell, naturally enough, especially on those who had borne arms for the Parliament and the Protector. From a return furnished him by the constables Sir Bryan reported that living within five miles of Lichfield, Stafford, Cheadle, Darlaston, and Burton there were as many as 1,128 of these old soldiers. This figure, he confidently affirms, considerably underestimates their real strength.

A letter of 25th May, 1663, gave Bennet some alarming information. There was talk in Staffordshire of a rising in Ireland and Scotland, to which from 40,000 to 50,000 persons had promised their support. The old soldiers living about Codsall and Oken, two villages in the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton, were waiting to take the field, and some of them had already gone. In a letter of the following day Sir Bryan announced that he had brought one culprit to book. For saying, "These are sad days, and the king cannot reign long," and that "there were good laws in Oliver's days," he had put "an old rebellious soldier" under arrest.

The letter has more to add: John Wallhouse of Hatherton, "a man of quality, formerly Lambert's adjutant," had asked one Morton of Ingleton which side he would take in case of disturbance. Morton replied that he would take the side which paid him best. Thereupon Wallhouse had made use of the conspirators' watchword: "The sword," he said, "would hew before the scythe mows." Four days later, on 30th May, Sir Bryan wrote: "It's very strange there should be so much smoke in these parts and none in others." On 20th May Renalds (probably William Reynolds ejected from Nottingham in 1662 [see *Nonconf. Mem.* ii, p. 291]),[1] had been preaching at a conventicle, "a thing he ever did when plots were in agitation." Among his hearers had been a number of old soldiers and officers. A few days after, Waring, formerly governor of Shrewsbury, Stone, governor of Stafford under the Long Parliament, and Backhouse, governor of Stafford in Cromwell's day, with many old soldiers from Shropshire and Staffordshire, had met at Wolverhampton on unknown business. It had been their way all along to use markets as their meeting-places, and drovers as agents for distributing information from London.

Two months later, in July, Sir Bryan was still full of alarm about the men of the old Parliamentary Army. The borough of Walsall was negotiating a renewal of its charter. Acting on the advice of a lawyer, whose house in Wolverhampton had been the rendezvous of the old soldiers recently meeting in that town, one party in the corporation was endeavouring to secure an independent jurisdiction, which would place the town outside the authority of the county justices. This scheme was being strongly opposed by other members of the corporation, who foresaw the dreadful possibility that with four ejected

[1] But ? if John Reynolds, ej. from Wolverhampton Collegiate Church, 1661.—Ed.

ministers resident there conventicles might be held in Walsall, and no authority be at hand willing to suppress them. These misgivings were increased by the "very threatening aspect" of the old soldiers in those parts, many of whom went armed. All this had been represented to Sir Bryan, with the request that he would in his turn represent it to Sir Joseph Williamson. He was further empowered to offer the Secretary the sum of £20 if he would prevent the renewal of the charter altogether.

After the midsummer of 1663 he wrote reassuringly of the prospects of the supposed rebellion. Discouragement was spreading among the conspirators. "Danvers had become fearful of himself," and had "left agents and silenced ministers to carry on the business in Leicestershire." By the beginning of 1664 the Presbyterians of Staffordshire were said to be no longer standing firm ; they had been daunted by the failure of some in high position at court to aid them. But "they hotspurs Anabaptists and Quakers go on more fierce." If they can get officers, and if a rising in Scotland and Ireland draw off the royal troops, mischief may be expected from them. Subsequently Sir Bryan eliminates the Quakers as refusing to fight, and being only well-wishers to the rebels, so that in the end the Anabaptists and Independents are alone left in the plot.

What amount of truth underlies Broughton's view of the political temper of the Staffordshire Nonconformists, it is difficult if not impossible to determine. It was common belief throughout the country that certain sections of dissent meditated violent measures, and if that was the case the government had certainly given them strong provocation. Another correspondent of Bennet's says that "there was a continuous carrying on the rebellious designs before 12th October, 1663," and he gives the name of the appointed Staffordshire agitator as Fletcher (S.P.D. 1664, p. 33). Calton, the Derbyshire agitator, turned informer in 1664, and stated

that there was an intended rising of Presbyterians in Staffordshire, that Major Gledman was waiting in London to take command of 400 men, for whose use the best horses in Penkridge Fair have been purchased (ibid. p. 47).

Something should be said of the conventicles held in Staffordshire during this time of persecution. The largest and most frequent was held in the neighbourhood of Burton-on-Trent. Situated on the eastern border of the county, it was easily accessible from Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, and thus provided a convenient rallying point for the dissenters of a large part of the North Midlands. In the episcopal return of 1669 there were said to be two conventicles in the town, meeting in more than six houses, with more than five teachers. One was of Presbyterians, the other of Anabaptists. In both cases the numbers are said to be "great." Altogether there were 16 places in the county where conventicles were held: [see Lyon Turner, *Original Records*, vol. i, p. 60, and vol. iii, p. 83]. A letter of Sir Bryan Broughton, written in August 1663, reports a conventicle at Burton as meeting continuously for several days, and being attended by from 200 to 300 persons. Subsequently the heads of the gathering were summoned to the Bishop's Court; "But they were so saucy with him that the old priest said he hoped soon to stand on even ground with him." The offenders were handed over to Sir Bryan in his capacity of Justice, and he required the two parsons to give security for their better behaviour in future. On their refusal to do so they were committed to the common gaol.

The conventicle of which we have fullest particulars is one held in 1667 at Oldbury (S.P.D. Car. ii, 217, 60), which drew the major part of its attendants from Staffordshire, though the place of meeting is just outside the county boundary. A chapel had been consecrated

there in 1529, but during the latter part of the seventeenth century it was used only by dissenters, until they were dispossessed by the bishop of Worcester soon after the Revolution. In and around this building there assembled, on Sunday, 15th September, 1667, a congregation variously estimated by seven witnesses, two of whom were informers, as numbering from 400 to 4,000. The preacher was a stranger from London, who informed one of the witnesses, whom he had visited on the day previous, that he was episcopally ordained, and did preach by that authority. His name was generally believed to be Morden, but some thought it Fraser. His text was "Thy kingdom come"; his doctrine, that the saints were to pray for the coming of Christ in glory to reward all working and suffering servants; to prove which he produced several texts of Scripture. He was prevented from developing his theme further by the arrival of a detachment of soldiers, sent by Lord Windsor to break up the meeting and arrest the preacher. In the latter particular they failed, for "he shifted himself away in the crowd, and escaped." The local Justices held an inquiry, and felt the matter to be of sufficient importance to report to Whitehall. "Of those present," they wrote, "many, though not in the least affected with the way, came as lookers on; some delighted in the novelty; and others, we believe, no conventiclers, which last found themselves deceived, expecting another person of a different opinion or discourse to the person preaching. We cannot discover any combination towards a disturbance in any of those present, more than what may be gathered from the preacher's rambling discourse, which without doubt savours of as much, and may draw a suspicion upon many more there to be of his mind."

In 1668 there took place at Betley, in North Staffordshire, an event of interest as indicative of the temper of the times, and also for the sake of the persons involved. Strong hopes were being entertained by Non-

conformists throughout the kingdom that they might shortly receive some measure of indulgence, if not of toleration. These hopes were abroad in Staffordshire. Hackett wrote to Sheldon complaining of "sectaries who did openly boast what assurance they had in the undertakings of a great Duke to procure them a most factious toleration. And their party laboured much with many members of this county, and have gained Mr. Dyot our new burgess unto them, for they wholely possess him and converse with him. But I trust God will strengthen the Commons to continue in what they have so well begun, which is oil unto my navel and marrow to my bones."

Encouraged by such expectations, some residents at Betley, after "gaining a general consent, invited Philip Henry and Edward Lawrence (ejected from Baschurch, Shropshire) to preach at their parish church, one in the morning and the other in the evening of a Sunday in February. The occurrence attracted notice in more than one quarter. "We in Staffordshire," runs an extract from a news-letter (S.P.D. 1668, p. 209), "hear much of the Comprehension Bill prepared by the King and Council, and want to know the truth. The hopes of the Presbyterians are high; one of them, a silenced minister, got into a church at Betley, and had 400 to 500 auditors, coming 8 or 9 miles. He read no Common Prayer, only a chapter; and then up and preached. His sermon was fair and honest; but the action showed a great deal of confidence." Meantime rumour had been busy with the doings of the Betley preachers, and they had soon assumed the most amazing proportions. On 5th March, 1668, Major-General Egerton, member for the county, informed the House of Commons that the two ministers had torn up the Book of Common Prayer, trampled the surplice under their feet, and pulled the minister of the place out of the pulpit (see Williams's *Life of Philip Henry*, p. 112). Honourable members, in a mood of sullen and bitter

opposition to the royal proposals of toleration, were ready to give a willing ear to any wild story about the enormities of Nonconformists, of which this was not the only example. After hearing Egerton's statement they appointed a committee of 34 "to examine the matter of information touching the insolencies of Nonconformists in Staffordshire, and also to receive information and examine such matters as shall be offered, concerning the illegal conventicles and disturbances of Nonconformists, by whom and what means they received encouragement, or anything that may relate thereto." If the committee sat it never reported to the House [see *Commons Journals*, ix, p. 369]; nor did Philip Henry or Lawrence suffer any penalties for their action.

From 1664 Lichfield is the chief centre of interest in the Nonconformity of the county. Bishop Hackett was in more or less close correspondence with Archbishop Sheldon on the affairs of his diocese [see Index, Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library]. The letters touch on various subjects, but a large part of them is given to the doings of the ecclesiastically disaffected under the bishop's jurisdiction. Possibly his lordship felt that he might reckon all the more confidently on Sheldon's interest and help, as his grace was a native of Staffordshire. Hackett writes on one occasion that he had paid a visit to the primate's "birth-town" of Stanton—really a hamlet under the Weaver Hills on the north-east bounds of the county, and "while my company were entertained in the hall with oat-cakes and nappy ale, I continued in the parlour and dropped out "some Latin verses in honour of the archbishop's birthplace." These "I clapped over the chimney, where I hope they will remain."

There is one topic that runs throughout the correspondence with melancholy reiteration, and that is the enormities of Thomas Wood, dean of Lichfield. At one time Hackett is urging "his most humble request

(and in great earnest) to your Grace to entreat with my lord Bishop of Durham to call off our most untractable and filthy-natured Dean from hence, and to command him to his benefice or his prebend at Durham." Again later he laments, "Oh! that so comely a structure as our cathedral is improved to be, should have the worst Dean to preside in it that ever was preferred."

The dean's offences were many; but it can hardly have been the least of them that he was a pronounced supporter of Nonconformists. "Puritanism hath spread excessively in our city, not only by his sufferance but by his furtherance." "He is their patron on all occasions," the bishop declares. On one occasion his lordship rebuked him for his friendliness with such persons; Wood scornfully replied, "He did so and he would do so." On another occasion he writes that, in spite of his age and infirmities, he is ready to attend Parliament in the hope that he may "concur in some strict act against Nonconformists and conventicles." But he makes it the condition of his journey to London that Sheldon should summon the dean to Convocation; "for I am resolved not to leave him behind me, being assured that he will make insufferable disturbance in my absence, give most scandalous countenance to Presbyterians, and the very worst of them." The bishop's vexation was increased by the obstacles which Wood placed in the way of any strong measures against the Lichfield dissenters. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the city was in the hands of the dean, and he resolutely refused to cite offenders into his court, or to punish those that were presented. On the welcome and not infrequent occasions when he relieved the cathedral of his presence, he appointed as his surrogate not one of the resident canons or prebends, but "left the court in charge of a singing man of the quire, whose brain is cracked and is most contemptuous to all." The bishop could do nothing but hold up his hands in helpless horror at the irregularities which went on unchecked around him. "The Presbyterians of the city

do what they list," he complains, "come not to the Holy Communion, baptize in hugger-mugger, are presented for their faults, but no order taken with them. I know of no city in England so much neglected for ecclesiastical government, and this done under my nose."

But if the dean's conduct made ordinary ecclesiastical proceedings impossible, Hackett found opportunity of resorting to other measures against the more outstanding culprits. Among the inhabitants of Lichfield were two whom he describes as "rich and violent Nonconformists, discarded aldermen," who "do much oppose me." They were, he affirms, the two richest men in the city except one, and yet they "would never contribute a doit to the reparation" of the cathedral.

The two men thus stigmatized were Thomas Minors and his brother-in-law William Jesson. Minors was by calling a mercer. He had taken an active part in public affairs during the Interregnum; had been one of the committee appointed in 1648 to sequester the property of the Dean and Chapter for the maintenance of two ministers in Lichfield (see *Lords Journals*, x, p. 178); and had been three times returned to Parliament as member for the city under the Protectorate [Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 363]. If he did not contribute to the restoration of the cathedral, his name is still remembered as one of the city's benefactors, for he left a house and endowment that thirty poor boys might "be taught to spell and read in English books until they can well read chapters in the Bible, without any reward from parents or friends" [ibid. p. 479]. It was probably to Minors and Jesson that Hackett referred when he denounced the dean for giving countenance to none but the greatest Nonconformists. As a mark of his favour, probably not without a large admixture of malicious pleasure in vexing the bishop and chapter, Wood had allotted to them the highest pews in the nave of the cathedral, used at sermon-time. So that "violent Nonconformists" though they were, Minors and Jesson occupied a place of

honour above the Chancellor and several others of the cathedral officials and their families.

Having failed to detach them from their Nonconformity by other methods, the bishop finally took advantage of an opportunity the two offenders gave him of taking a more drastic step for their reduction to obedience. They were found to have been holding and attending conventicles. That in itself was a sufficient ground for displacing them from their offensively prominent pew. So the bishop's version of the case runs. His lordship denies Minors' statement that he held no conventicle until he was deprived of his pew. But the matter did not end there. To make an example of two such leading Nonconformists would, the bishop thought, be an edifying lesson not only for Lichfield but for the whole diocese. Accordingly Hackett appealed to the archbishop, and received from him "the comfortable expectation" that the two offenders should be summoned to London to appear before the Council. This "comfortable expectation" was duly satisfied. On 8th July, 1669, a pursuivant arrived at Lichfield, armed with the necessary warrant. It was therein set forth that Minors and Jesson were charged "with seducing and drawing many of his Majesty's subjects into unlawful meetings and conventicles, and that on Sunday the 13th of this instant June, there being a multitude of people assembled in an unlawful meeting in the house of the said Minors, he refused to admit the Constables and Deciners[1] of the said city (being lawfully authorized) into his house, to suppress and apprehend the said persons so met together, notwithstanding he was thereunto required" [Privy Council Register, No. 61, p. 349]. The bishop was jubilant; "the terror of it," he writes, "will go far to suppress factions not only in this city but in the whole diocese—and there was great need of it." "I thank God for your grace's great care to

[1] I.e. Tithing-men, a kind of subordinate constables. (See Baily's *Dictionary*.)

suppress thoroughly the conventicles of Lichfield." But two days later he found reason to lower his tone. Even those who were likely to have been cowed by the recent arrests proved themselves undaunted. "These Schismatics will never mend," Hackett writes in despair on 12th July; "for yesterday in the morning, and so on till evening, a conventicle of about 80 persons was held at Elmhurst a mile from Lichfield in the house of one Hill; to which Minors his foreman of his shop, with the most of his family, and the wife of Jesson and most of his family resorted, with all the wonted gang; and the ringleader among them is Rixam, our city carrier, no way fit for that trust, being a transcendent Schismatic." [1]

Meantime Minors and Jesson had been conducted to London. They were brought before the Council on 13th July, and again committed to custody until further order [P.C. Reg. No. 61, p. 356]. Seven days later Hackett wrote to Sheldon: "No more could be expected, no more could be desired, than your Grace hath effected about Minors and Jesson, whose stubbornness I did predict to myself, and I wish they may be brought to better order and conformity by their lingering restraint, which hath struck terror into many sectaries, yet not into all, no, not into our city of Lichfield: for yesterday some of their disciples gathered at Longdon, under Sir Bryan Broughton's nose, who is a very careful justiciary to punish them." On 28th July Minors and Jesson reappeared before the Council, and presented a petition. They declared themselves "heartily sorry that by the liberty they have presumed to take in the exercise of their conscience in private meetings they have in any degree incurred his Majesty's displeasure; and do most humbly implore his gracious pardon, resolving for the future to avoid keeping any such meetings

[1] James Rixam appears in the 1669 return as leader of a conventicle at Newborough Chapel near Lichfield. (See *Original Records*, vol. i, p. 63.)

as may give offence to his Majesty or scandal to his government." They therefore humbly prayed his Majesty would be pleased to release them, urging the further plea that as they were tradesmen their continued detention would bring distress upon the many poor people dependent on them. The petition gained its end, and the two petitioners were discharged [ibid. p. 374]. The bishop's comment is one of qualified approval: "God reward your most excellent Grace for reducing Minors and Jesson to so much obedience, as to make promise to the Greatest to avoid the keeping of private meetings which may give offence." But his lordship detected a loophole of which the two offenders might avail themselves; "If others keep the meetings they have not engaged not to be present at them." He is full of misgivings for the future. "I do not exceed out of ill will in my information against the Presbyterians and other Sectaries, that they grow so insolent and regardless of their betters in all my diocese that in my apprehension they are hatching some dangerous mischief; and when harvest is brought in, I fear some violent attempt from them. Their looks, gestures, and words agree to it."

So ends the episode of Minors and Jesson. They both lived to take advantage of the Indulgence of 1672, if we may identify Jesson with the "Wry Jeslen" of the licences [see *Original Records*, vol. i, p. 517].

A. G. Matthews.

[See also *C.H.S. Trans.*, vol. iii, pp. 33–47.]

The Rise and Progress of Congregationalism in Worcestershire.

(The substance of a paper read by W. Wimbury, Esq., at Birmingham, on 4th October, 1916.)

IT is fitting that some reference should be made to the work of Congregationalism in Worcestershire at a meeting of the Congregational Union held in Birmingham; for it is a fact that the formation of the National Union was in a large measure due to the influence of some distinguished members of the Worcestershire Union, which was formed some years earlier than the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and had well-nigh become venerable in age and service when the Warwickshire and Staffordshire Unions were called into being. John Angell James, the great preacher and pastor of Carr's Lane Church, was for nearly a quarter of a century a member of the Worcestershire Union: he had seen the benefits which arose from combination, and as county unions had been formed in some of the more progressive centres, he had encouraged leading men of the denomination to labour for the consolidation of these local unions into a national union. A meeting was held on the 10th May, 1831, at which Mr. James moved a resolution: "That it is highly desirable and important to establish a union of Congregational churches throughout England and Wales, founded on the broadest recognition of their own distinctive principles," etc. A committee was appointed to consider the scheme, and the constitution of the Worcestershire Union was largely followed by that committee. It was on the motion of John Angell James that, on 8th May, 1832, the report of the provisional committee was adopted, and the Congregational Union of England and Wales was at that moment formed.

The story of Congregationalism in Worcestershire stretches back to the earlier part of the seventeenth century. As there were Reformers before the Reformation, so there were Free Churchmen before it was possible to form Free Churches. It should not be forgotten that from Worcestershire sprang that brave-hearted Lollard John Badby, who in 1409 was burned in Smithfield; nor that the cathedral city possessed the honourable distinction of having among its bishops the two noble Protestant martyrs, Hugh

Latimer and John Hooper, who sowed the seeds of Free Churchism in a tumultuous and dangerous age ; nor, furthermore, that to Worcestershire belongs the high distinction of being the first county outside London in which, as far back as 1548, English Bibles were printed for the use of the people. Thus might it be said of Worcestershire, in the words of Sir Walter Mildmay to Queen Elizabeth, "I have set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God only knows what will be the fruit thereof."

It is worth while to look at some of the fruit which this prolific Free Church tree has produced. Several of the early churches were described as "Presbyterian." This term only applied to the form of church government which they adopted, and did not bear much theological significance. Calvinism has never been indigenous to the soil of Worcestershire. I have examined several trust-deeds in the county ; they are surprisingly free both from Calvinism and Arianism. Some are so "open" that they could apply to any form of Free Church worship ; while in cases where doctrinal statements are made they are so broad, yet evangelical, that John Wesley would have subscribed to them without scruple.

In 1636 Richard Baxter, then a young man of twenty-three, was ordained at Worcester by Bishop Thornborough as a minister of the Established Church. He in reality became the founder and inspirer of Free Churchism in the county ; and while he laboured as a faithful pastor at Kidderminster, he actually saw the cathedral church at Worcester converted into a Congregational meeting-house, with a grant made for its sustenance by the then governing body of the city. The first duly appointed Congregational minister was Symon More, whom Baxter describes as "an old Independent," and his meeting-house for ten years was the cathedral. So that while the Anglicans claim an unbroken episcopal succession from the year 680, there was at least one decade during which Mr. More, an Independent, was bishop in the cathedral, if by that word is meant the overseer of the flock.

The number of ministers ejected or silenced in Worcestershire either at the Restoration or by the Act of Uniformity was 47, of whom five afterwards conformed. Among those ejected several writers mention Baxter as vicar of Kidderminster. This was not so. He came to Kidderminster in 1640, remained a short time, then attended Cromwell's army, and returned to Kidderminster. There he laboured until the Restoration, supplying the place of the actual vicar, Dance, who had been sequestrated. In 1660 he was silenced by the reactionary party then in power, and left the town never to return. While Worcester rightly claims to take the lead in the Congregational movement in the shire, it was through the labours of Baxter that the inspiration came which led to the consolidation of Congregationalism and the spiritual liberty of the people.

It is not claimed on behalf of BAXTER CHURCH, KIDDERMINSTER, that the great Puritan divine whose name it bears was in any way personally associated with it. His ministry was exercised in the parish church, where for sixteen years he laboured with apostolic zeal. From a condition of spiritual darkness he let in the light of the gospel to the town, and effected a spiritual reformation which was, and still is, regarded as almost miraculous, for the influence of his labours has not yet passed away. In one sense Baxter's appointment demonstrates the wisdom of the popular election of pastors ; for he was called to the work not by king, bishop, or lay patron, but by the vote of the leading churchmen among whom he was to minister ; and he declared that his work at Kidderminster " yielded me the greatest fruits of comfort." He loved the people, and was as affectionately loved by them ; and when he was not allowed even to preach a farewell sermon, they who were most warmly attached to him at once left the Establishment and formed themselves into a spiritual fellowship. They refused to recognize prelacy in any form, and as a body of faithful worshippers became Congregational. This was in the year 1660. The Rev. Thomas Baldwin, vicar of Chaddesley Corbett, had frequently assisted Baxter in his pastoral work. Of him Baxter wrote : " Having parted with my dear flock . . . I left Mr. Baldwin to live privately among them and oversee them in my stead, and visit them from house to house." When in 1662 the great ejection took place, Mr. Baldwin was appointed the first dissenting minister. Baxter had endeavoured to prevent any open rupture. He strove to get all the ministers in Worcestershire—Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent—to work harmoniously together, meeting in conference for study, prayer, and mutual advice. He was not very successful ; but it is gratifying to record that at the present time such conferences are actually being held at Kidderminster ; the Archdeacon of Worcester, the vicars of the Kidderminster district, and all the Free Church ministers meet and discuss questions affecting the spiritual wellbeing of the community, doctrinal differences being alone excluded. In this connection one may recall an incident related concerning Mr. Baldwin's successor, Rev. John Spilsbury (1693–1727). Mr. Spilsbury at his first coming said his desire was not to draw people away from the parish church, but solely " to serve God in the Gospel of His Son, and to do good to their souls." The then vicar sought an interview, and, referring to the above statement, said, " Young man, can you lay your hand upon your heart and say that ? " " I can," replied Mr. Spilsbury. " Then from this time (said the vicar) we are one, and our aims and views are the same."

Baxter Church has throughout its long and honourable history been a leader in all religious and Free Church movements. Four buildings for its accommodation have successively occupied the

same site, being erected in 1693, 1753, 1824, and 1885 respectively. Only to the present edifice has the name of "Baxter Church" been attached, it being obvious that the former designation, "The Old Meeting," was inappropriate. Its records are well preserved and fairly complete; the baptismal register dates back to 1727. Among its most distinguished members was Joseph Williams (1692–1755), whose published diary is remarkable as "indicating saintliness, scholarship, and indefatigable diligence in all well doing." The church commenced a Sunday school before the labours of Robert Raikes were known, and a day-school before the founding of the "National" Society. It has been in a large sense a mother of churches. The *Countess of Huntingdon's church* was an offshoot in 1774; the "*New Meeting-house*" was founded in 1782 by members who had adopted Arianism. Other offshoots were the mission church at *Crossway Green*, 1857, and the fine Congregational church at *Stourport*, 1870; and one of the deacons, the late Mr. Edward Smith, President of the Adult School Union, for nearly thirty years carried on interesting religious work at *Wribbenhall* (Bewdley).

The history of Angel Street Church, Worcester, has been so fully written by the late Rev. W. Urwick, M.A., that it is not necessary to narrate it here in much detail. As already related, the first Congregational church in the city was for ten years accustomed to meet in the cathedral; but it was not till some years later that it was regularly organized. Symon More was the first minister; but Thomas Badland, a native of Worcester, and ejected from Willenhall, Staffs, by the Act of Uniformity, was the first duly appointed pastor. He laboured in the city for twenty-five years (1663–88). The church has had a long line of distinguished men associated with it; but the greatest period in its history began when Robert Vaughan accepted the pastorate in 1819. He was afterwards known as minister at Kensington for twenty years, Professor of Modern History in the University of London, and then principal of Lancashire Independent College. His successor (1826–56), Dr. George Redford, was conspicuous in a public controversy on the errors of Roman Catholicism; he was chairman of the Congregational Union in 1834, and drew up its "Confession of Faith," which is usually printed in the *Year Book*. Somewhat later came Rev. R. Vaughan Pryce, LL.B. (1871–76), afterwards principal of New College. The most prominent lay member of the church in recent times was Thomas Rowley Hill, who was for fifteen years M.P. for the city. He gave of his wealth for the spread of God's work not only in the city but in many parts of the shire, and laboured unceasingly for the welfare of his fellows. It was largely through his influence and generosity that the handsome Sunday schools at Angel Street and the church at Malvern were erected; and in his lifetime he greatly aided

the mission churches which have been successfully carried on in several villages.

In this work the members of Angel Street have long been keenly interested. As far back as 1823 mission work was carried on at *Ombersley*, where a new chapel was built about 1861. A chapel was opened in 1854 at *Hallow*, the gift of Mr. T. R. Hill. About 1859 a building was opened at *Fernhill Heath*, and a Sunday school established ; and in 1864 Mr. Jos. Grainger purchased a plot of ground at *Pole Elm*, which he made over to the church on condition that a chapel should be built thereon.

The foundation of the STOURBRIDGE CHURCH was in the main due to the influence of the Foleys, one of whom had been intimately associated with Richard Baxter at Kidderminster. The Foleys introduced the iron trade into the district, and amassed much wealth. They were Presbyterians, of the Evangelical type. Foley of Prestwood Hall offered protection and hospitality to some of the persecuted ministers, one of whom, Gervase O'Brien[1] (ejected from the rectory of Old Swinford) obtained a licence under the Indulgence to preach in his own house. Here, in 1672, he gathered the faithful ; and for some years religious services were held, which issued in the organization of a definite Christian community, and the erection, about 1688, of the Coventry Street Chapel. The Sergeants and Hornblowers, who were at that time active workers in the Kidderminster district, also exercised much influence at Stourbridge.

It would seem from these facts that the date of this church should be 1672, rather than 1698, in which year Rev. George Flower was called to the pastorate. The church was called Presbyterian ; but in principle it was absolutely Independent and Evangelical. There is no evidence that its founders had the slightest degree of sympathy with Socinianism.

Mr. Fowler ministered from 1698 to 1733. Those were strenuous and often persecuting days. A wave of rebellion swept through the land, and in many parts of the Midlands, including Wolverhampton, Dudley, Birmingham, and Stourbridge fierce attacks were made on Nonconformist conventicles. In some places the people defended their churches successfully, and the rioters fled, but in other places it was not so. At Stourbridge in 1715 a mob attacked the chapel in Coventry Street, and a half-pay officer volunteered to Mr. Flower to defend it ; but he, fearing bloodshed, declined the offer. The mob carried everything movable to the market-place, made a pile, and burnt it. An Act of Parliament was passed to deal severely with the rioters and provide some compensation to the persons wronged. The damage done at Stourbridge was assessed at £304 12s. 4d. ; but the Government only paid £130 4s. 1d. towards the restoration.

[1] Palmer and Turner both call him Jarvis Bryan.

While this was in progress the house of Samuel Cator, behind the partially destroyed building, was registered at Quarter Sessions as a place of worship. It is said that on the Sunday following the riot the preacher took for his text, "Sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon thee."

Afterwards the church was troubled with the Arian controversy. Some left, and joined a Unitarian church.[1] For a while the Independents and a local body known as "St. Phœbe's"[2] coalesced. In 1801 a reorganization took place, and Rev. John Richards became pastor. His advent was like the rising of the sun after a dark night. A new chapel was opened on 14th June, 1810, which was subsequently much enlarged and improved. Mr. Richards was instrumental in initiating movements at *Lye* and *Brierley Hill*, which led to the establishment of Independent churches in these places. The mission church at *Chawnhill* (1894) is also due to the activity of members of this church.

At DUDLEY the influence of Richard Baxter, who laboured there for a short time, had entirely passed away, and for great part of a century the town was in a dark spiritual condition. The clergy of the Established Church were such as left much to be desired; and the old Presbyterian church, founded before the Revolution, had become altogether Arian or Unitarian. In November 1753 Whitefield visited Dudley; his searching address induced a spirit of hearing, and some were brought to Christ. Some of Lady Huntingdon's students from the Welsh college afterwards visited the town; they were not endowed with much learning, but what they lacked in that respect they made up by zeal and energy. They paved the way for the erection of a building in which Calvinistic views were advocated. Among the first who came was Mr. W. Jones. He, with others, preached for some time in a house in *King Street*. This soon became too small, and it was found necessary to build a regular place of worship, of which the foundation stones were laid in 1788 by William Jones, Joseph Underhill, and Thomas Wilson. To these three the honour of founding Congregationalism in Dudley is due. A church was constituted in 1792. For some years it was supplied chiefly by occasional preachers from Birmingham and neighbouring places. Mr. Best, preacher at Cradley, took it under his care for a short time; then he conformed to the Established Church under circumstances which inflicted great, though temporary, injury on local Congregationalism.

In the summer of 1801 Mr. Jas. Dawson, a student from Hoxton Academy, was called to the pastorate. At the time everything connected with the place was altogether discouraging; but

[1] The Unitarian chapel was built in 1788. Its adherents claim to represent the original Presbyterian Society.—ED.

[2] Apparently a nickname for a small society of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion; see memoir of J. Richards in *Congregational Year Book*, 1855.—ED.

Mr. Dawson set earnestly to work, and gave a remarkable impetus to the religious life of the town. He was ordained in 1803. In 1809 a gallery was erected; in 1815 side-galleries were added; in 1819 further accommodation had to be provided; in 1823 ground was acquired for enlarging the building; in 1836 an organ was introduced. Two years later it was decided to rebuild on an enlarged plan; and in 1840 the present spacious church was opened. When Mr. Dawson died in 1843, not only Free Churchmen but the whole community mourned the loss of a great, good, and faithful minister.

Of many excellent pastors who have since served the church, probably the most widely known is Rev. Geo. Wade Robinson (1869–71). From King Street church have branched off several flourishing churches in the neighbourhood—as *Tipton* (1830), *Brierley Hill* (1840), *Woodside* (1844), *Netherton* (1858), and the fine mission hall known as *Park Hall* (1906). Another offshoot is CHRIST CHURCH, otherwise "The Firs," which was constituted as a Congregational church in 1865: the present building was erected in 1882.

The inception of the Congregational interest in the charming old-world parish of BROADWAY, which nestles at the foot of the Cotswold Hills, was due to the Rev. John Dawson, the Baptist minister at Evesham. It was in 1788 that he began his evangelistic work, and they were indeed dark and stormy days in Broadway when the seeds of Congregationalism were sown. Gross drunkenness, open immorality, and lawless vice reigned unchecked; the vicarage was held by an absentee incumbent, and the curate who discharged the duties was a man of intemperate habits, and regardless of the spiritual welfare of the people. When Mr. Dawson began to preach in the open air he was faced with brutal, vigorous opposition, and the few tradesmen who ventured to give countenance to the good work were made to suffer the effects of a severe boycott. Time after time efforts were made to break up the religious gatherings; but the Lord was with His people, and in the end the gospel triumphed over evil and spiritual darkness. In 1798 a small chapel was erected for "the community of Protestant Dissenters called Independents"; the religious society was organized in 1808. In these days, when we have by the Central Fund made some moderate provision for our underpaid ministers, it is interesting to read that Rev. John Morris—whose name has been for more than a century honourably associated with the Broadway Church—carried on for several years a successful ministry on a stipend of £25 a year. But we read that with an increasing family he found it impossible to meet household expenses, so he resigned the pastorate and went into business, continuing to preach occasionally. John Angell Jones and Dr. Raffles were interested in the work at Broadway; and

when the present building was erected in 1843 they preached at the opening services. Among other good men who laboured for the spiritual needs of the people were Rev. Thomas Rogers (father of the late revered Dr. J. Guinness Rogers), who while pastor here died suddenly in 1854. Good work has been done in more modern times in Broadway. A small branch church has been founded and sustained at *Childs Wickham* (where preaching was commenced as far back as 1843) ; and at *Laverton*, a village hard by, the Misses Adam, formerly of Kidderminster, have erected a large mission hall, and at their own cost sustain an evangelist, who ministers to a much-attached people.

(*To be continued.*)

Independency in "Little England beyond Wales"

IN a previous paper (*Transactions*, vol. vi, No. 6, p. 404) I endeavoured to sketch the history of Puritanism and Separatism in South Pembrokeshire down to the Restoration in 1660 and the Ejectment of 1662. I pointed out the exceptional strength of the free spirit in this remote corner of Britain, and what I wrote has just received interesting illustration from some paragraphs on the new Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, which I reproduce, with slight adaptation, from the *Church Times* of 22nd December, 1916.[1]

The home of the George family lies in Pembrokeshire. The county formed part of the old principality of Dyfed, and was much afflicted by Danish inroads, but the strongest influence was Norman and Flemish. The Welsh natives in some parts of the county would seem to have been almost exterminated and replaced by the Flemings who followed in the train of the Norman barons. In these parts the Welsh language is never heard. And where the Flemish invasion did not extirpate the native population (in the North of the county) it greatly modified its life and mind. Perhaps it might be said that the Fleming was the first of the Welsh Radicals. He certainly was the first tithe defaulter, as Giraldus Cambrensis when Archdeacon of Brecon found to his cost. At a far later date the Puritanism of Pembrokeshire struck observers with amazement. Cavaliers, while allowing that Wales in general was a centre of loyalty, yet declared that in Pembrokeshire they encountered a fiercer Puritanism than they had ever met in England. At the same time the Fleming has left in Pembroke-

[1] I may be allowed a line to add that one of the best friends of my youth was William George, a second cousin of the Premier. He was a deacon at Trinity Church, Pembroke Dock, and I gladly pay this little tribute to his memory.

shire a taste for the good things of life not to be seen in the ordinary Welsh peasant home, and the consequent easier view of things in general. Pembrokeshire has left its mark in Mr. Lloyd George's character (though he was born in Manchester, where his father, a Unitarian schoolmaster, had migrated from the south via Carnarvonshire; to which county the son reverted, though he spent some time as a boy in the ancestral shire). It may be seen in the occasional recklessness and demagogy which is alien to the cautious Welshman of a purer ethnic type. It appears also in his quick power to adapt himself to a new situation and to grasp the mind of the foreigner, for he comes of a stock that represents many nationalities.

I broke off the story with the death of Peregrine Phillips, the most noteworthy name in Pembrokeshire Nonconformity at the end of the seventeenth century. He had been assisted in his work by John Luntley the miller, ex-rector of Nolton and Llanstadwell (d. 1672), who was one of the eleven ejected ministers.

Before trying to continue the story into more modern times I may here quote some interesting information given me by that most indefatigable and courteous investigator, Prof. G. Lyon Turner. It relates to the clerical subsidy for Pembroke, 1661. The first name on the list is interesting in view of what has been said above.

THE SUBSCRIPCON OF THE FFREE & VOLUNTARIE BENEVOLENCE OF THE REVEREND CLERGIE WITHIN THE ARCHDEACONRY OF ST. DAVIDS, 26 SEP. 1661.

	£	s.	d.
William George—Rector of Stackpole	o	ij	o
William Pritchard—Vicar of Manorbir (Manorbier) ...	ij	x	o
Ethelred Wigan—Vicar of Panneley (Penally)	ij	o	o
Thomas Davis—Rectr of Gumfriston	v	o	o
[Henry Griffith was here sequestered for "Pluralities."—W.]			
Lewis Gwynne—Rectr of Rudbeston (Rudbaxton) ...	iij	o	o
[He was "turned out" of Bridle (*at* Bridell) for "Insufficiency."—W.]			
William Jones—Rectr of Cosheston	ij	x	o
[He was "turned out" by the Propagators for "Insufficiency."—W.]			

	£	s.	d.
Nicholas White—Vicar of St. Israels (St. Issels)... ...	j	o	o
[He was "turned out" by the Propagators for "Insufficiency."]			
Tobias Callowe—Rectoʳ of Carnwesin (?)	iij	o	o
[He was sequestered from Lowchurch (Ludchurch)—W.]			
Walter Lewis—Rector of Leveston (Loveston)	j	o	o
[Thomas Brown was sequestered from Leveston for "Pluralities." W. also gives Llaneston (?) as a place whence some one was sequestered whose name he did not know.]			
Henry Williams—Viccar of Caerewe (Carew)	j	o	o
[He had been "turned out" hence by the Propagators for "Drunkenness."—W.]			
Matthew Lewelin—Vicar of Castlemartyn	j	o	o
[Calling him "Matth. Llewelling," W. says he was "turned out" hence for "Insufficiency."]			
Samuel Edwards—Rectoʳ of poolchwihan (Pwllcrochan)	j	x	o
Thomas Griffith—Rectoʳ of Walwyn Castle	j	x	o
Nicholas Bevan—Rectoʳ of Hasbard (Hasguard) ...	v	o	o
Richard Arnold of Martletwy	j	o	o
John Owens—Vicʳ of Roche	v	o	o
[W. says Thomas Morgan was sequestered from Roch by the Propagators for Drunkenness.]			
David Williams—Vicaʳ of Ambleston	iij	o	o
[He was "turned out" for Drunkenness by the Propagators.—W.]			
Einon Thomas—Llisivaran (Llys-y-fran)	j	x	o
John Perrott—Vicʳ of Whitechurch	j	o	o
John Mountford—Vicʳ of Monke Towne (Monkton) ...	v	o	o
[He was sequestered from Martletwy.—W.]			
Thomas Freeman—Vicʳ of Stainton (Steynton)	v	o	o
Matthew Lord—Vicʳ of Marloes	j	o	o
Phillipp Williams—Rectʳ of Robeston	j	o	o
[He was sequestered thence mainly for Malignancy. Fined £400—*vide* W.]			
Adam ffawkins—Vicaʳ of Sᵗ Ishmaels	j	o	o
[Calamy (iii. 506) has him in his list of those ejected in *Pembrokeshire*. He has his name as "Mr. Adam *Hawkins*." His subscribing to the "free and voluntary benevolence to his Majesty on Sep. 26, 1661," shows that he was not "turned out" at the Restoration, but stayed on until the Act of Uniformity compelled him to leave, 24th August, 1662.			
In the Report sent in 1665–66 by the Bishop of St. David's (William Lucy), under Article 6,			

	£	s.	d.
"Concerning Nonconformist Ministers" he gives two in this county:—the one Thomas Freeman, who has since conformed and enjoys one Benefice; and the other, "ADAM HAWKINS clerke was Ejected out of the Vicaradge of St. Ismaels in the County of Pembrocke for non-subscripc̃on, and now lives quietly and peaceably in the Countrey in relac̃on to both Church and State." That is, he simply subsided into quiet life, and did not hold Conventicles in spite of the Penal Statutes.]			
Rinold Moris—Vic^{r} of Mamlothoge (Maenclochog) ...	j	o	o
Morgan Williams—Recto^{r} of Keterston (Letterston) ...	ij	o	o
John Phillipps—Vic^{r} of Llandiloe (near Maenclochog) ...	j	o	o
[W. says he was "turned out" of this vicarage and that of *Llanhowell* by the Propagators for "Drunkenness."]			
Phillipp Gor—Vic^{r} of Llanrian	ij	o	o
John Price—Vicc. of ffishgard (Fishguard)	j	o	o
["Turned out" hence by the Propagators for "Drunkenness.]			
Thomas Jones—Recto^{r} of St Llawrence	j	o	o
[Sequestered hence for "Insufficiency."—W.			
Henry Purefoy—Recto^{r} of St Llansome (? Lambston or Llangum)...	v	o	o
William Lloyd—of St Petrox	v	o	o
Anthony Jones—of Boulston	v	o	o

Subscribed before the Commission
William Owen D.D.
William Jones Archd. of Carn.
Ed. Vaughan Archd. of Cardigan.

This list should be read in connexion with the note at *Trans.*, vol. vi, p. 412.

Our next piece of information is from fourteen years later.

In 1675 Henry Maurice, pastor of the Nonconformist church in Breconshire, sent to Mr. Edward Terril of Bristol "a catalogue of all the congregated churches in the general counties of Wales, together with the names of their pastors and other church officers." We are told that "The only Church extant at this time in Pembrokeshire is that which meets at or about Haverfordwest (i.e. at Treffarn), which was gathered at first by Mr. Peregrine Phillips, who is still the pastor of it. It has been much shattered of late years, between the troubles of the times and the Quakers. Captain Longman is elder of it, and Hugh Harris, deacon. They are Independent in their

judgment. There was another gathered church here [? at Narberth] before the late changes, when Mr. Thomas Warren [ejected from Narberth ; afterwards conformed] was pastor —— teaching elder. But the pastor and teacher returned to England upon the change, so that his church was so dissipated between the world and the Quakers that it is long since extinct ; except some few that continued faithful, who have since joined with the church at Haverfordwest."

Maurice also mentions a small company gathered into church order by James Davies, a moderate Presbyterian.[1] "These meet at Captain Jenkin Jones's house, which Mr. Jones is a teacher among them. Most of these people were in church order before, being gathered originally by Mr. Charles Price, who was their pastor, and so continued till the scattering times came."[2]

Very little information is available for the early part of the eighteenth century. Dr. John Evans's statistics of Nonconformist congregations (and their voting power) in 1715 yield the following meagre information regarding Independents :—

Pembroke	...	Thomas Davies, scholar.
Haverfordwest		Thomas Davies (? same as above).
		Evan Davies.
Trefgarn	...	Hugh Harris (80 years old).

Unfortunately the columns giving "average attendance" and "social and political standing" are blank, though we learn that the Presbyterians at New Chapel, Newport, and Trewen (which are grouped) had a company of 500, including 22 voters, and the Baptists 900, with 4 ministers, but only 8 votes.

Though not strictly relevant to this paper, I cannot help recording the fact here that in 1713 Sir Arthur Owen, M.P. for Pembroke Boroughs, just saved the Hanoverian Succession Bill in the House of Commons. It looked as though there were a Stuart majority in the House, and a Whig member ran out in great distress in search of some of his partisans. He met Sir Arthur in the nick of time. "I made one step into the House," the latter used to say, "and my voice made the number equal for the Bill—117—and the Tories had no more." Griffith Rice, M.P. for Carmarthenshire, immediately followed, and so gave the majority for the new succession.

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[1] James Davies (of Cardigan) is described as Congregational in the Licences issued in 1672. His church (Welsh) still thrives at Llechryd, and it has sent out vigorous offshoots. Jenkin (otherwise John) Jones, also Congregational, lived near by, at Kilgerran in Pembrokeshire. (See *Trans.*, vol. ii, p. 12.)

[2] Rees, *Hist. of Prot. Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 216.

A few words may be said about the connexion of the district with the Evangelical Revival. Sir John Philipps, of Picton Castle (1662–1737), the fourth baronet, known as "the good Sir John," made a good impression on his contemporaries and helped to shape history. As his forefathers had aided the cause of constitutional freedom, so he threw himself with ardour into the movements which led to the great religious awakening. He was related to Sir Robert Walpole, and this gave him weight in official circles. He was a pillar of the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G., the Society for the Reformation of Manners, and the Charity Schools. It was he who presented his brother-in-law, Griffith Jones, to the living of Llandowror (Carm.) and so rendered incalculable service to Welsh Methodism. He was the friend and patron of John and Charles Wesley, and it was through his kindness that George Whitefield was able to stay on at Oxford, for Sir John granted him £30 a year.

Another remarkable Pembrokeshire man was John Gambold (1711–71), son of the rector of Puncheston, one of the earliest members of the Holy Club at Oxford, and afterwards a Moravian bishop, who spent the last three years of his life as Moravian minister at Haverfordwest. John Cennick, of the same community, was also in the county in 1751–53 and left a memory reverently cherished. Though Moravianism never took deep root or spread very widely in Pembrokeshire soil, it was a distinct enrichment of the religious life of the county.[1] The visits of John Wesley and the work of Howel Harris and Howell Davies must be left to the historians of Methodism, Wesleyan, and Calvinistic. Nor can I do more than mention the visits of John Howard to the county jail in Haverfordwest in 1782 and 1785. But the writer of *A Gentleman's Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales in June and July*, 1774, has some interesting notes. St. David's Cathedral he found in a dirty and slovenly condition, and though the choral service was performed twice a day it was very seldom any congregation attended. He was troubled to find that Methodism had "extended its baleful influence even to this remote angle of our island, for two chapels of the different persuasions of Wesley and Lady Huntingdon flourish at Haverfordwest. Both chapels are regularly crowded, but whether superstition, novelty, or curiosity is the cause I shall not pretend to determine. I have since seen in the most retired spots of this county a wretched cottage bursting with the fulness of its congregation, and multi-

[1] Its missionaries arrived in 1743 and excited great religious enthusiasm. Another Pembrokeshire man who was connected with this church was David Mathias, who after preaching throughout the country, passed on to Devon and Yorkshire, where he died.

tudes in a heavy rain imbibing with gaping mouths the poisonous tenets of a mechanical (i.e. artisan) preacher."

George Whitefield had some great times in the county. After his day fresh life was infused into South Pembrokeshire Methodism by Captain Joss, the Scotsman who had become assistant-pastor of the London Tabernacle, and Rowland Hill. One outcome of this was the building of the Tabernacle at Haverfordwest in 1774 (Lady Huntingdon's chapel noticed by the "Gentleman" above mentioned). The terms of its Trust Deed, 1776, are significant. While thoroughly Calvinist, they are perhaps the earliest evidence of the tendency of the Whitefield societies to break with the Calvinistic Methodism of Wales and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and to gravitate towards Independency. When the Countess felt aggrieved by the line taken by the leaders of the Gloucester Association and by the Tabernacle Association generally, she put in the forefront of her complaints the use of the Tabernacle at Haverfordwest and insisted as a *sine qua non* of peace that the Gloucester Association should surrender the chapel to the C.M. Association of Wales. But Rowland Hill and his friends in Gloucester and Pembrokeshire were firm. The parting of the ways had come. Whitefield Methodism was gradually merged in Congregationalism, to be followed ultimately—such is the irony of history—by the Countess's own Connexion.

The evangelist who did most, though unwittingly, for Congregationalism was John Relly. In April 1743 Whitefield was preaching at Jeffreston "to several thousands very like the Kingswood colliers." Among his hearers was a young man named James Relly, who came to disturb the service, but was converted. He threw himself with all the energy of his nature into the work of his new Master, and soon found a fellow-worker in his younger brother, John. The labours of these men recall those of the Haldanes in Scotland. James Relly became one of Whitefield's regular assistants and preached much in England, but it was in South Pembrokeshire that the brothers did their most enduring work, forming societies and opening preaching-houses. They published a joint-volume of "hymns, poems, and spiritual songs." James's theology passed through some wonderful phases. He adopted Calvanism in its extremest forms, and so roused the ire of Wesley that he was the first to receive the epithet "Antinomian" from the great preacher. But Relly passed to the other end of the theological scale and became a preacher of Universalism. He died in London in 1778, his closing years being darkened by failure and trouble. Meanwhile John Relly was anxious for the congregations under his charge at Pembroke, Cosheston, Lamphey, Jeffreston, Templeton, Narberth, and elsewhere. He never contemplated handing them over to the Methodist Association; and though he would have welcomed amalgamation with

the Moravians, the ecclesiastical polity of the latter proved an insuperable barrier. He died at Carew in 1777, and 1,800 attentive hearers listened to the funeral sermon. His societies seem to have furnished the nucleus of Congregational churches.

I return now to the oldest of our churches, Albany, Haverfordwest. Peregrine Phillips was succeeded in 1691 by Thomas Davies, a native of Llanybree, Carmarthenshire. During his pastorate branches were formed into distinct churches at Trefgarn (Welsh) and Pembroke (this must have died out, as the present church dates only from 1811). I cannot here give the history of the church in any detail, but some of its ministers were noteworthy. Among them was John Evans (pastor, 1789—d. 1808), who had been educated at the Oswestry Academy. He preached a noted sermon at Carmarthen to refute the accusation brought against Nonconformists that they were disloyal to the State and supporters of the French Revolution. His son, John Evans, Q.C. (d. 1864), was leader of the South Wales Circuit, and the first Nonconformist M.P. for a Welsh constituency, being elected for Haverfordwest Borough in 1847. He sat till 1852, when he was defeated. The Rev. John Evans was followed at Albany by John Bulmer (b. 1784, d. Nov. 1857). He was trained at Rotherham under Dr. Edward Williams, and came to Haverfordwest in 1812 on probation. He was ordained there in 1813, and remained till 1840, when he removed to Rugeley, thence to Bristol, Newbury, and Llangrove and Ruxton in Herefordshire. Not long before he left Haverfordwest he started a monthly paper, *The Pembrokeshire Congregational Magazine*. He contributed biographical and historical articles to various journals, and also published *The Vicar of Llandovery, or Light from the Welshman's Candle* (Haverfordwest, 1821), an account of the famous Rees Prichard, with translations from his well-known book of poems.

These notes must draw to an end. But one cannot close them without mention of Caleb Morris, the Pembrokeshire man, who, at Fetter Lane, London, became perhaps the greatest preacher of his age; and then Morgan Harry (1800–42), a native of Lampeter Velfrey, trained, thanks to the kindness of Lady Barham, at Newport Pagnell. He was ordained at Banbury, and afterwards ministered at New Broad Street, London. He was an honorary secretary of the Peace Society, and in his theology was ahead of most ministers of the denomination. Nearer to our own day is David Thomas (1813–94), born near Tenby, and induced to the ministry by Caleb Morris and then Morgan Harry. Thomas of Stockwell is a name that will not easily be forgotten, and it is interesting to know that he had much to do with forming the characters of two such workers in the field of Social Christianity as Catherine Booth, the mother of the Salvation Army, and Wilson

Carlile, founder of the Church Army. He was one of the originators of the University College at Aberystwyth and of the Working Men's Club and Institute.

The Rev. Morlais Jones, though a native of Carmarthenshire, won his spurs at Narberth. The church at Pembroke gave out the Simon brothers—Henry, Mark, Thomas, and Edwin; the fifth brother, Walter, long and faithfully served the church at home as its secretary. From Pembroke also came the distinguished Chinese missionary and scholar, George Owen.

Milford will always be associated with Caleb Guion, a man of burly frame, great heart, and shrewd mind. His ministry covered the latter half of the nineteenth century, and his kindness to young men has enshrined him in many hearts. He had a great knack of using the Socratic method. These are no longer with us, nor are Lewis James, James Phillips, or Herber Evans. Some future historian must record their achievements. But we still have Justin Evans, and Morgan Gibbon, and Thomas Rees (Principal of Bangor), and Dr. Alfred Rowland, though I think he was not himself born in the county.

Perhaps I have done enough to show that Little England has not been without distinction in the annals of Puritanism and Independency. There are other names which I might have enumerated, but it is good to know that the succession is being maintained, not least, on the side of loyal and devoted laymen. The thirty-five churches in South Pembrokeshire are somewhat isolated, but they continue to bear effective witness, and they look for encouragement and fellowship to the churches of their own faith and order in the larger England.

The order of their formation as usually given is: Albany, Haverfordwest, 1662; Keystone, 1781; Tabernacle, Haverfordwest, 1790; St. Florence, 1800; Rhosmarket, 1801; Manorbier Newton, 1802; Milford, 1808; Sardis, 1809; Pembroke, 1811; Little Haven, 1812; Tier's Cross, 1815; Naberth, 1817; Templeton, 1818; Tenby, 1822; Zion's Hill, 1823; Albion Square, Pembroke Dock, 1824; Horeb, 1826; St. Ishmael's, 1827; Wolfsdale, 1827; Middlehill, 1830; Nebo, 1832; Crundale, 1837; Dale, 1838; Saundersfoot, 1838: Longstone, 1848; Trinity, Pembroke Dock, 1850; Lanteague, 1854; West Hook, 1857; Nolton, 1857; Carew Newton, 1862; Neyland, 1862; Reynoldston, 1867; Amroth, 1869; Penally, 1887; Goodwick, 1905. Goodwick is really in the north of the county, but it is an English cause established concurrently with the development of the Fishguard route to Ireland. The only two English churches in Cardiganshire, Cardigan and Aberystwyth, are associated with those of South Pembrokeshire for County Union purposes.

It is an unhappy feature that at a time when so much is being thought of and done towards closer union, several churches in

Little England, formerly grouped with another or two others under one pastor, have broken away. There is a problem of Central Fund Administration here, and also of Ministerial Settlements and Removals, but these are matters that lie outside the province of the historian.

ALEXANDER GRIEVE.

The Gainsborough Bible

IN the study of one of our London ministers there is treasured a most interesting old Bible. It is strongly bound in leather, and there are indications that once the covers were elaborately decorated with designs in gold. The interest lies in the fact that at one time it belonged to Thomas Gainsborough, the celebrated artist, and that the Gainsborough family were closely connected with Independency. Inside the Book there are two signatures. The first is as follows: "Thomas Gainsborough, 1718, Ex dono Patris sui." The second is that of "John Gainsborough, 1769." There was a third signature, but, unfortunately, it has been cut out, under circumstances which will be recorded later on.

Thomas Gainsborough, whose signature appears on the first page, was the father of the painter. In examining the registers of Friars Street Congregational church, Sudbury, Suffolk, it was discovered that for nearly two hundred years, i.e. from 1685 till 1852, the lives of the Gainsborough family were bound up with the history of Sudbury Independency. There are twenty entries altogether. Thomas Gainsborough's name is the first of the family on the church roll. He was the second son of the Borough Chief Constable of the time of Charles the Second. His wife Elizabeth was also a member. Four of their children were baptized in the old meeting house. The painter and six of his nine brothers and sisters were also baptized there. On the old church's historic dial the hands are always pointing to the font, the pew, or the vault of the Gainsboroughs. Their vault was a centre from which the positions of other graves were measured. In that vault lie the remains of the grandfather and grandmother, father, mother, and brother of the great artist. The old church books show that the members of this family were liberal benefactors. The name is found everywhere in the records, as members, workers, and subscribers. The first owner of the Bible (father of the painter) was a crape maker. Sudbury was one of the first towns in which Edward III settled the Flemish weavers, and has always been celebrated for its hand-weaving. He is described by writers of the time as "a fine old man, who wore his hair carefully parted, and was remarkable for the whiteness and regularity of his teeth." When in full dress he always wore a sword, and was very expert

in the use of it. He lost a good deal of money by bad debts, because he was too kind-hearted to press for payment when his debtors were in difficulties. He always refused to avail himself of a practice common in his trade of taking "toll" from the spinners, which amounted to about one-third of their small weekly wage. He died on 29th October, 1748, at the age of sixty-five. At his death his Bible was given to Thomas, his illustrious son, who was born in the year 1727. The day of the month is not recorded. The nearest date we can discover is that of 14th May, when he was baptized at the Independent meeting house. He was educated at the old grammar school of his native town.

> The bench on which he sat, while deep employed,
> Though mangled, hacked, and hewed not yet destroyed,
> The wall on which he tried his graving skill,
> The very name he carved existing still.

This is not the place to describe the wonderful genius of one of England's greatest artists, but it is interesting to note that his early religious education was received from the lips of the minister of the old Independent church. His name was written on the page next to his father's in the old Bible. But the half page was cut out and the signature destroyed by Miss Emily Gainsborough in the year 1851. This lady was the last of the family, and was a most devoted Congregationalist, but she had some peculiarities. Among her possessions were some pictures painted by Thomas Gainsborough, and his Bible. Now just before her death she was greatly bothered by certain persons who wished to obtain these pictures and the signature in the Bible. Had she given them to any one of the many applicants she would have offended the others, so she had all the pictures collected in a heap in her garden, and cutting out the signature in the Bible she added it to the pile. Then she ordered the gardener to set fire to the lot; this was done, and so the burnt-offering was complete. The man who carried out the order related the whole circumstance to the writer of this brief sketch.

The one word "Bible" remains; this is probably in the handwriting of the artist himself.

As we have already noted, the signature of John Gainsborough, 1769, appears on the page facing that of Thomas Gainsborough, senior. On the death of the painter the Bible was handed to his brother John. In Sudbury he was known as Scheming Jack, because he was always trying to invent things. He constructed a pair of wings with which to fly, and, amid a crowd of spectators, landed in a ditch at the bottom of the elevation from which he started. He invented a cradle which would rock itself; a cuckoo which would sing all the year round. He made a timekeeper which would correct the longitude within the limits required by

Act of Parliament 12 Anne, 1714, and the Government did give him a small sum of money as a reward for his ingenuity, but the timepiece was of small practical use. He died in 1772 at the age of sixty, leaving a house full of tin and brass models of all kinds of things, most of them unfinished, and few of them revealing their purpose.

Another of the painter's brothers, Humphrey Gainsborough, was an Independent minister, and was for many years pastor of the church at Henley-on-Thames. He, too, had great mechanical skill. His experiments with the steam engine were far in advance of his time. In the British Museum there is a sun-dial capable of pointing the hour to a second, in any part of the world ; this was made by him, as was also a fireproof box and a tide mill. He was a good pastor and an eloquent preacher, greatly beloved by his people. He was offered preferment in the Anglican Church, but in reply he said, "I dwell among mine own people."

The old Bible and the signatures it contains carries one back to the days when Independency not only produced strong men and women, but when it gave to the nation leaders in Literature and Art. As old Thomas Jordan sang in 1645 :—

> "Although they were not understood,
> Yet from their spirit and their blood
> Did flow a fair and fertile flood
> Of thoughts and deeds, both great and good."

CHAS. H. VINE.

Henry Jacob's Church in New England

A Tercentenary Memorial

IT is well known that the "Church of the Pilgrim Fathers," in the New Kent Road, Southwark, claims historical continuity with the fellowship gathered by Henry Jacob in 1616. The claim is not undisputed (see *C.H.S. Trans.*, vol. ii, p. 201–6); and it must be owned that there are two links missing from the chain of evidence, which can only be supplied by probable conjecture. But the probability is very strong, and such counter-evidence as has been adduced is by no means conclusive. We may, therefore, without too much presumption, recognize the validity of the claim. But even if that claim were finally discredited the fellowship of 1616 would still have its living representatives. There are in the State of Massachusetts two evangelical churches of the Congregational order, both of which represent, by unbroken succession, the church of which Jacob and Lothrop were successively pastors, and of which the latter, in 1634, led a large proportion—perhaps a majority—of the members to seek freedom on the wild New England shore. Between "Pilgrim" and the churches at Scituate and Barnstable West there is no rivalry; they are not "sister churches" in the conventional sense; they are branches of one stem, and each of them in that character has recently celebrated its tercentenary. By the courtesy of Rev. B. Z. Stambaugh, of Scituate, and Rev. G. E. Allen, of Barnstable, we are enabled to present a brief outline of the history of the American branches; and in order to give completeness to the story—though it involves the repetition of a twice-told tale—we prefix a concise account of the vicissitudes of the church in London.

. . . . . .

"The Antient Church," of which Greenwood was teacher and Barrowe and Penry were members, was scattered after the judicial murder of those faithful witnesses, a majority of its members taking refuge in Holland. Those who remained appear still to have accounted themselves members of "the antient church"; and to them notice was given, within a few days, of the constitution of the Jacob fellowship in 1616. They

seem to have had some doubts as to the legitimacy of the latter, until they had consulted John Robinson, who satisfied them that Jacob and his associates were "a true church." Whether any of the older fellowship then united with this younger church does not appear; certainly the two did not coalesce before 1632, whatever may have happened afterwards; for when, in that year, a number of them were imprisoned, they had as fellow-prisoners two members of "the antient church." Meanwhile two important events had occurred. In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers set off on their adventurous voyage; and there is a constant tradition, though there seems to be no documentary evidence, that the London contingent who joined them at Southampton, consisted of members of the church gathered by Jacob. And in 1624 Jacob migrated to the region then vaguely designated "Virginia," where he soon afterwards died. For a year or two the members of the church "edified one another in the best manner they could according to their gifts received from above," and then obtained a pastor in the person of John Lothrop, formerly parish minister at Egerton, Kent. Under his ministry the membership was largely augmented.

Indeed the number so increased that it was desirable for the sake of security to divide into smaller companies, and this became still more urgent because of divergences of opinion on "the Truth of the Parish Churches," i.e. whether the parish assembly was a true church, able to administer valid sacraments. To this was added a further question, as to the propriety of Infant Baptism. Accordingly about 1631 an amicable separation took place, issuing in the formation, under the pastorate of Mr. Spilsbury, of the earliest known Calvinistic Baptist church.

In 1632 the membership, notwithstanding this separation, was about sixty. On the 29th April in that year forty-two of these were arrested in a house in Blackfriars, of whom some were admitted to bail and others imprisoned; among the latter were Mr. Lothrop and Praise-God Barbone. But even while these were in prison as many as fourteen names are recorded as accessions to the fellowship.

In 1634 Mr. Lothrop, after near two years' imprisonment, obtained release on condition of leaving the country; and accordingly he set out for New England with about thirty members of the church. Their fortunes will be related hereafter; it may suffice here to say that both those who emigrated and those who remained accounted themselves as equally representative of the fellowship of 1616. It was not till 1637 that the London branch of the church was again provided with a pastor. This was Henry Jessey, M.A., whose life-story is told with all requisite fullness in the *Nonconformists' Memorial*. The church still continued to increase, and about 1640 another division took place. It is

commonly said that this, like the former, was on account of the Baptismal controversy: but this must be an error, since as late as 1642 Mr. Barbone, who was chosen pastor of the offshoot church, wrote in favour of Infant Baptism.

Still the controversy waxed keen, the method as well as the subject of baptism being disputed; and in 1645 Mr. Jessey himself adopted Baptist opinions, and was immersed by the Rev. Hansard Knollys. But throughout his long pastorate the questions relating to baptism were left to the individual conscience and mutual tolerance. At some unrecorded date after the meeting of the Long Parliament Jessey was appointed Morning Lecturer at St. George's Church, Southwark. In the after part of the day he was accustomed to minister to the Select church. Where the latter met we have no certain information; the other branch of the church seems to have usually met at Barbone's house at the corner of Fleet Street and Fetter Lane. This branch disappears from history before the fall of the Commonwealth; and from the Restoration the other branch passes temporarily out of sight. Jessey was deprived of his lectureship, silenced, imprisoned, and died shortly after his release. The church then seems to have divided; those who held Baptist opinions adopted the principle of close communion, chose Henry Forty as their pastor, and when he left London coalesced with the Baptist Church that had been constituted under Spilsbury in 1631. This is now represented by a church in Stoke Newington. It is *believed* that the pædobaptist section united with the church which had been gathered by Hubbard in 1621; which had for its pastors in succession John Canne, Samuel How, and Stephen More; and which had been accustomed to meet in Deadman's Place, Southwark. The general disorganization and persecution of Nonconformity after the Restoration, and the loss or absence of contemporary records, make it impossible to affirm with certainty what befell this united fellowship. It *may* have been finally dispersed; but the *general belief* is that it became merged in the society which gathered around Thomas Wadsworth. Wadsworth was the very popular rector of Newington Butts, whence he was displaced at the Restoration. He was then chosen minister of St. Lawrence Poulteney, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He then gathered a congregation in Globe Alley, Maid Lane, where there was a large meeting-house in 1669. He was assisted by Andrew Parsons, ejected from Wem, Salop; and in 1672 Parsons was licensed to preach in Deadman's Place—doubtless the old meeting-house where More had formerly ministered. At the same time Wadsworth was licensed for a meeting at Theobalds, Herts, and, as a matter of fact, the two ministers alternated their services between the two places. Wadsworth died in 1676, and for several months the services at Maid Lane were conducted by the cele-

brated Richard Baxter. James Lambert was then called to the pastorate. Little is known of him except that he was a popular preacher, and that he died at the age of 45 in 1689. The choice of his successor led to a division of the congregation. Those who favoured Nathaniel Oldfield continued to worship at Maid Lane ; the other section occupied the meeting-house in Deadman's Place. These had as their pastor Jonathan Owen, who gave to the church the four silver Communion cups which it still possesses. For a few years Mr. Owen had as assistant Philip King, who died in 1699, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Mr. Owen resigned in 1702, having adopted Baptist opinions, and was afterwards assistant minister in a Baptist congregation in Bristol. He was followed at Deadman's Place by Rev. John Killinghall, from Beccles, who held the pastorate until his death in 1740. [The congregation in Maid Lane, after a succession of six ministers from Mr. Oldfield, was dispersed in 1752.]

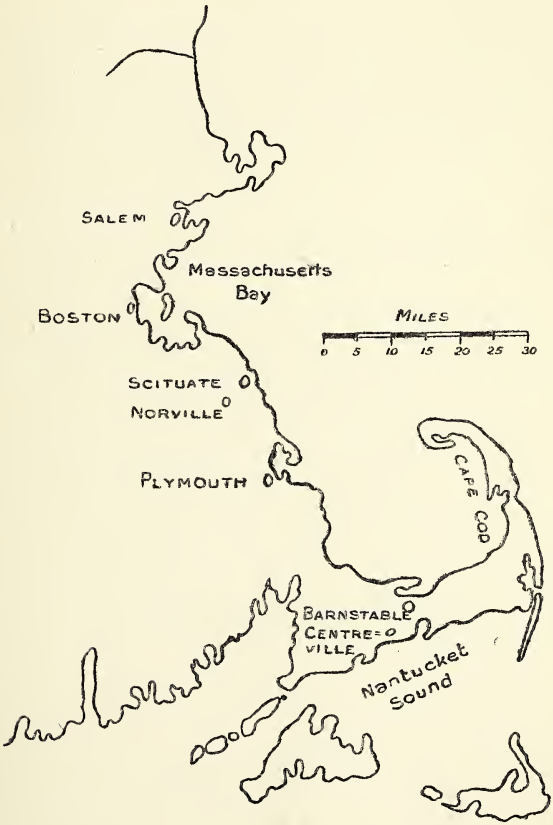
It is to be observed that the historic continuity of the present "Pilgrim Church" with that which enjoyed the ministrations of Jacob, Lothrop, and Jessey depends entirely on whether, after the death of Jessey in 1663, the pædobaptist section of that church united with the congregation which rallied around Wadsworth. The probability is strong, but positive evidence is lacking. If such continuity failed in London, it certainly survives in New England.

We must now look to another congregation of which the origin is due to the Act of Uniformity. Rev. John Chester, ejected from Weatherby in Leicestershire, was reported in 1669 as ministering in "a large meeting-house, into which the smaller conventicles empty themselves." In 1672 he was licensed as a Presbyterian to preach in a house in Maid Lane. In 1687 the meeting-house in Zoar Street was built for his use, a building which was only demolished in the middle of the nineteenth century. Mr. Chester died in 1696, having retired two years earlier. His successor, Henry Read, only lived until 1698. He was followed by Samuel Palmer, who in 1703 wrote a vigorous defence of Dissenters and their academics, and in 1705 a still more vigorous sequel ; but in 1710 himself conformed to the State Church, which "gained but little reputation by her new convert." His successor was Dr. Zephaniah Marryatt, who in 1740 removed with his congregation to the meeting-house in Deadman's Place, where the two societies were united. In 1743 Dr. Marryatt, in addition to his pastorate, undertook the post of divinity tutor in the Academy of the Congregational Fund Board. He died in 1754. His successors were Timothy Lamb, 1755 ; James Watson, D.D., 1763 ; and John Humphries, 1784.

Shortly after Mr. Humphries' settlement, it was decided to erect a new meeting-house. This was located in Union Street, and was opened in 1788. The old building in Deadman's Place

was then demolished, and the site is now covered by Barclay and Perkins's Brewery.

The following ministers occupied in succession the pulpit in Union Street: Dr. Humphries, 1788–1820; W. C. Kidd, 1820–23; John Arundel—sometime Secretary of the London Missionary



Society—1823–45; John Lyon, 1845; John Waddington, D.D.—the historian of Congregationalism—1846–71.

It was by the dogged persistence of Dr. Waddington, maintained in the face of almost insuperable difficulties and obstructions, that the present church building was raised; and even to this day it has not been found possible to complete the tower and spire

which formed part of the original design. Dr. Waddington occupied his later years with literary work, and died in 1880.

Pilgrim Church stands in an impoverished neighbourhood, and its work is carried on amidst those difficulties which commonly beset a "down-town" church. The ministers since Dr. Waddington have been A. F. Barfield, 1871–79; Lloyd Harris, 1879–83; F. Barclay, 1884–92; F. Docker, 1892–1905; George Dent, 1906–17.

It should be noted that Benjamin Hanbury (1778–1864), author of *Historic Memorials relating to the Independents*, was a deacon of the church when it was located in Union Street; and it was he whose careful research established the *probability* of its continuity with the fellowship of 1616.

. . . . .

We now proceed to a brief sketch of the two New England churches in which the historical succession has been undoubtedly maintained. On the release of John Lothrop from prison in April 1634 he, with thirty-four members of the church, prepared to sail for New England. They arrived at Boston by the ship *Griffin* on 18th September; and on 27th of the same month "proceeded to an early settlement in the wilderness, called Scituate," about half-way between Boston and New Plymouth.

The town of Scituate had "begun to be settled before 1628, by men of Kent." During the first years of the settlement religious work had been carried on by a Mr. Giles Saxton, although no church had been formed. A meeting-house had already been erected near the harbour, on the site now occupied by the old burying-ground in Meeting-house Lane, when Mr. Lothrop and his church arrived. It was probably in consideration of this fact that the church was "re-gathered" (28th January, 1635, N.S.) as The Church of Christ in Scituate; and those who had been under Mr. Saxton, as well as those with Mr. Lothrop, were considered charter members. In 1639 Mr. Lothrop and a majority of the church removed to Barnstable. The remaining few, however, continued "in a Church State," and in the same year called as pastor the Rev. Charles Chauncy, who had also been a minister of the Established Church.[1] Mr. Chauncy was a strict immersionist, and also insisted upon administering the Communion every Sunday evening. This created disturbance. Because of his insistence upon the *necessity* of certain forms in the Sacraments he was accused of "popery"; and nearly half the members withdrew, forming the South Parish, but claiming to be the First Church, on the grounds that the pastor and the majority of the members were "apostate." This organization still exists as the Unitarian church of Norwell (formerly South Scituate). In 1654

[1] See Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii, pp. 451–5.

Mr. Chauncy was called to the presidency of Harvard College, where he succeeded the Rev. Henry Dunster. Mr. Dunster came at once to Scituate, where he laboured in the ministry until his death. The unique distinction thus belongs to this church of having among its pastors the first two presidents of the leading University in America.

In the years that followed the Scituate Church continued in peace and prosperity under the leadership of able pastors for nearly two hundred years. On 23rd March, 1711, the Covenant was modified and renewed. The meeting-house was removed from the Harbour to Scituate Centre in 1737. Stoves were first used to heat the church in 1824.

It was during the pastorate of the Rev. Nehemiah Thomas (1792–1825) that the church suffered its most serious division. The Unitarian controversy, which was agitating the churches throughout New England, made itself felt here. The very small majority of the church, which contended that the Covenant of 1711 ought to be enforced, was opposed by a large majority of the parish society, and by the pastor himself. It finally dismissed the pastor in regular form (after an ecclesiastical council, in which the neighbouring churches had participated), and separated itself from the parish corporation, forming a new parish society, building a new house of worship, and calling a new pastor. No new church organization, however, was formed. This is the present Trinitarian Congregational church in Scituate. As a church it traces its continued existence back to the covenant entered into by that martyr band upon the southern bank of the Thames in 1616. As a "Church of Christ in Scituate" its history begins, together with the two Unitarian churches of Scituate and Norwell, on January 28, 1635.

The corner-stone of the present meeting-house was laid on 22nd July, 1826, and it was formally dedicated on 16th November of the same year. Of all the pastorates since the separation, probably none stands out as more successful than that of Rev. Daniel Wight (1842–56). Certainly no other pastor's personality has left so great an influence. The present town high school is a monument to his earnestness and loyalty as a citizen of the community. Under his administration of the affairs of the church the spire was built and the bell was purchased; and the records were, for the first time since the days of Nathaniel Pitcher (1707–23), put in order. In the year 1914 the National Creed of Congregationalism, sometimes called the Kansas City Confession, was adopted by this church as its Confession of Faith. The parish corporation has been very fortunate in receiving legacies. Its endowment is now $23,000 (= £4,600).

[The above account is abridged from the Manual of the Church, 1915.]

The Church Covenant, 1711,

gathered out of God's word, and agreed upon by ye Church of Christ in ye North End of Scituate by theire vote, at a church meeting March 12, 1710/1.

We Do give up ourselves to that God, whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, cleaving to God, the Father, as our chief and only good, and unto our Lord Jesus Christ, as our only Saviour, the Prophet, Priest, and King of our souls; and to the Spirit of God, as our only Sanctifier and Comforter. And we do give up ourselves one unto another in the Lord, covenanting to walk together as a Church of Christ, in all the ways of his own institution, agreeable to the prescriptions of his Holy Word, promising that with all tenderness and brotherly love we will faithfully watch over one another's souls; and that we will freely yield ourselves to the discipline and power of Christ in his Church, and attend those seals and censures and whatever ordinances Christ has appointed, so far forth as the Lord by his word and Spirit hath or shall reveal to us to be our duty, to wait upon him for pardon and remission, beseeching him to make our spirit steadfast in his covenant, and to own us as his Church and Covenant people forever. Amen.

Succession of Pastors.

John Lothrop ...	1634–39	Daniel Wight ...	1842–58
Charles Chauncy ...	1641–54	Alexander Sessions	1863–69
Henry Dunster ...	1654–59	Thomas S. Robie	1870–72
Nicholas Baker ...	1660–78	William B. Green	1873–77
Jeremiah Cushing ...	1691–1705	Will. C. Wood ...	–1883
Nathaniel Pitcher ...	1707–23	David Bremner ...	1885–91
Shearjashub Bourn...	1724–61	Park A. Bradford	1892–94
Ebenezer Grosvenor	1763–80	Clarence D. Greely	1896
Ebenezer Dawes ...	1787–91	George J. Newton	1896–97
Nehemiah Thomas...	1792–1825	Seelye Bryant ...	1897–99
Paul Jowett... ...	1826–33	Albert Bryant ...	1899–1904
Luke A. Spofford ...	1835–36	Frederick B. Noyes	1905–13
Phinehas Smith ...	1840–41	B. Z. Stambaugh...	1913–

As already intimated, a majority of the exiles who came with Lothrop in 1634 made only a temporary sojourn at Scituate. In 1639 they decided on a permanent habitation, and on 11th October they arrived at a place called Mattacheese, on the west side of Cape Cod. Of their arrival Lothrop writes: "After praise to God in public was ended, we divided into three companies to feast together." A few days after this a fast was ordained: "To implore the grace of God to settle us here in church estate, and to unite us together in holy walking, and to make us faithful in keeping covenant with

God and one another." On 15th April, 1640, at another fast-day, they "asked the Lord to find out a place for meeting, and that we may agree in it." This was the beginning of the town of Barnstable. There is, or rather was, a rock on which according to tradition the first sermon was preached, the first Sacrament was administered, and around which the first town's meeting was held. It was called "Sacrament Rock." In recent times it has been blasted into fragments for road-making; but the principal fragments have been built up into a cairn, on which a suitable inscription has been placed.

When the first meeting-house was built, or the exact spot on which it stood, or the entire number of members in fellowship cannot now be ascertained; it is only known that the *male* members who accompanied Mr. Lothrop to Barnstable were about twenty. Besides their wives and children, no doubt others who were not church members took up their abode in the new settlement. We have no details of Mr. Lothrop's ministry, except a statement that he baptized 153 persons after he came to Barnstable; also that in his time there was a religious revival, of the fruits of which many were added to the church. He retained the pastorate until his death, which occurred on 8th November, 1653, in a house which he had built for himself; part of which still exists, being incorporated in the building of the Sturgis Library. After Mr. Lothrop's death ten years elapsed before the election of another pastor. But the church was not by any means destitute of an evangelical ministry. The Congregationalists of those days retained the old Separatist distinction of Pastor and Teacher, the latter being thought of as subordinate to the former. During the long pastoral vacancy Mr. John Mayo, of Eastham, occupied the pulpit with the status of teacher. During this time, according to the Nonconformist's Memorial, the church was "miserably broken by division." Happily a pastor was found in the person of Rev. Thomas Walley, or Whalley, late rector of St. Mary, Whitechapel, who had been ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He entered on the pastorate in 1663; and in the records of the church it is written of him "the Lord was pleased to make him a blessed peacemaker, and improved him in the work of his house here till March 28, 1678/9, being Lord's Day morning, about forenoon meeting-time; and then He called him out of his earthly tabernacle into that house not made with hands." He is described as "a pious, peaceable man, eminent for his humility; a great friend to toleration, and a well-accomplished scholar." In a sermon preached before the general court of the Colony of New Plymouth, on the day of an election in 1669, he expressed apprehensions that New England would ere long lose "her holiness, her peace, and her liberty." During his fifteen years' pastorate Mr. Whalley received seventy-four persons into fellowship. Several cases of discipline are recorded, which show that pastor and people were not neglectful

of this duty. After the death of Mr. Whalley there was another pastoral interregnum of four years. Then came Rev. Jonathan Russell, senr., who was ordained in 1683. During his ministry of twenty-eight years "good and wholesome discipline was maintained," and 171 members were added to the church. At this time (1685) it was officially reported that there were one thousand praying Indians in the county of Barnstable. Mr. Russell died on 2nd February, 1711, and was succeeded by his son, Rev. Jonathan Russell, junr. He was ordained in 1712, and retained the pastorate to the end of his life—a period of forty-seven years. In the earlier years of his ministry an important event occurred—the building of a new meeting-house in that part of the township known as Barnstable West. It was opened on Thankgiving Day (probably the the first Thursday in November), 1719. Originally it consisted of only one room without a vestibule; but in 1723 a tower was built at the north end. This served as a vestibule, having doors leading outward on three sides, and on the fourth side leading to the interior. The bell-rope lay coiled up in the middle of the floor. The interior was plainly whitewashed, and above were the naked beams and roof braces. A gallery ran round three sides of the building, having two tiers of seats, the rear being two or three steps above the front. The pulpit, which elevated the preacher to the level of the gallery, is said to have been finely carved; it was provided with a sounding board, and behind it hung a heavy red curtain about 8 ft. wide. The singers occupied a pew in the gallery at the rear of the church; they were supported by a string band—violins, 'cellos, double-bass, etc. During the singing these were hidden from view by a curtain, which was withdrawn when they sat down. At one side of the singers' pew was a large pew for the coloured people; and on the other side one for the dependent poor of the parish. Box pews from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 ft. high, with two-panelled doors, enclosed the worshippers. The children sat on stools, or on a low seat hinged to the partition. There was no appliance for heating, except as members of the congregation brought foot-stoves, which were supplied with coal (probably charcoal) from houses near at hand.

In 1725 a friendly separation took place of members who resided in the eastern part of the township. A second church was thus formed, under the pastorate of Rev. Joseph Green, who presided over it until his death in 1771. The articles of faith and covenant were distinctly evangelical, and Mr. Green was followed by two or three evangelical ministers in succession; but early in the nineteenth century Unitarianism became predominant. From 1815 to 1914 there were no fewer than twenty-one pastors, of whom two, after ministering elsewhere, returned for a second term of office. Mr. Russell died on 10th September, 1759, having received 242 persons into fellowship.

His successor was Rev. Oakes Shaw, who came from Bridgwater, and was ordained in August 1760. He too served the church only a few months less than forty-seven years, during which time he received 240 persons into the fellowship of the church. He is described as "greatly devoted to his calling, and caring little about worldly things." He is perhaps best remembered nowadays as the father of Lemuel Shaw, who was born in 1781, and died in 1861, after having held the honourable post of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for thirty years. In connection with the tercentenary of the church a memorial tablet was affixed to the house in which he was born, the cost being met by the lawyers of the State.

The next pastor was Rev. Enoch Pratt, who was ordained on 28th October, 1807, and "was dismissed at his own request" in 1835. It is said that about four years after his ordination he experienced a notable spiritual awakening or enlargement. He left a manuscript history of the church in Barnstable, from which many of the foregoing facts are derived. During his ministry, in 1816, yet another Congregational church was constituted in the southern part of the township—now called Centreville. Altogether he received into fellowship 292 persons.

Mr. Pratt was the seventh pastor of the church; and the second (Jacobs being the first) who did not retain the pastorate to the end of his life. Of these seven the average period of service was nearly twenty-nine years. Fifteen have followed in quick succession since Mr. Pratt's removal, of whom only one has exceeded half that term, and only one has died in the pastorate. *Tempora mutantur, et nos in illis.*

The following are the names and dates of the several pastors since Mr. Pratt :—

Rev. Alfred Greenwood	1836–40
Rev. Thomas Riggs	1840–42
Rev. Alonzo Hayes	1843–48
Interregnum	1848–53
Rev. Hiram Carlton	1853–62
Rev. Henry A. Goodhue	1863–83
Rev. Robert Samuel	1883–86
Rev. Jeremiah K. Aldrich	1886–90
Rev. Hanson E. Thygeson	1890–94
Rev. Samuel W. Clark	1894–97
Rev. Edgar B. French	1897–1903
Rev. Charles S. Bates	1903–6
Rev. Gregory A. Sherajan	1906
Rev. Saml. B. Andrews...	1907–10 (died)
Rev. Willard E. Streeter	1911–13
Rev. George E. Allen	1915–

From the origin of the church to 1842 the total number of members admitted was 1,292 ; the whole number of baptisms in the same period was 2,086. Some unfavourable circumstance or conditions, the nature of which is not explained, must have been in operation between 1842 and the end of 1845, for the number of members declined from 124 to 74, a reduction of 40 per cent.

Mention is made of the ministry of a Mr. Chase, whose name does not appear among the pastors. This must have been about 1849 or 1850, after which the meeting-house was closed for a season, having become so dilapidated that it was quite unfit for use. On examination it was found that, although the boards were decayed, the principal timbers constituting the frame were perfectly sound,it was therefore resolved so to repair or rather reconstruct the edifice as to retain its identity. The rather grotesque tower was demolished, and a new belfry with a spire was constructed on the roof. Twenty feet of one end were partitioned off, to serve as a vestibule below and a conference room above. The building was new—coated with boards and shingles ; large modern windows were substituted for those formerly existing—three on each side instead of fourteen ; all plastering was renewed, the building was painted white, within and without ; and a handsome chandelier was suspended in the centre. The entire cost of the renovation was three thousand dollars, and the church was reopened with a dedication service on 18th November, 1852.

West Barnstable is no longer simply "a community of the old stock," but counts among its population many recent immigrants, to some of whom the English language is still a foreign tongue. Especially there is a large number of Finns, to whose spiritual interest the church, in connexion with the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, is devoting special attention. The pastor, Rev. Geo. E. Allen, has learned the rather difficult Finnish language that he may minister to them the more efficiently ; and the result is that many of them attend the church services and send their children to the Sunday school, and at one communion service last year six persons of that nationality were received into fellowship.

The tercentenary services were held on the 4th, 5th, and 6th August, 1916. An evening service, chiefly devotional, was held on the Friday ; historical meetings, including a series of historical tableaux, occupied the Saturday ; and on the Sunday, besides the morning and evening services, which were of a commemorative character, there was a united Communion Service at Sacrament Rock, in which several neighbouring ministers—including the pastor of the Unitarian church—participated. The flagon and some of the cups that were used have been in use by the church from the earliest time of which there is any tradition. During the service the memorial tablet on the cairn was unveiled by a lady who is a lineal descendant of John Lothrop.

It may be worth mentioning that, of the Communion vessels belonging to the church, a large flagon of fine white pewter appears by the character of its pounced decoration (a gentleman presenting a flower to a lady) to be of about the age of Charles I. The three patens are of the same metal, and may probably be of similar age. Two tall beakers are silver-plated; they are of later but uncertain date. Two shorter beakers are of solid silver, one of them was presented to the church in 1729. Two other cups with handles date presumably about 1775. Of a somewhat smaller flagon no particulars are given. The cock, which stands above the belfry, is of English make, and originally adorned the steeple that was built in 1723. The church bell weighs 897 pounds, and has on it in large letters the name REVERE. It was sold to the town of Barnstable by Paul Revere on 10th October, 1807.

Laud's Inquisition, 1634

THE following General Search-Warrant for Nonconformists is not extensively known, and certainly deserves republication :—

Dom. Ser. Chas. i. cclxv. 6. (1634)

Whereas credible information hath been given unto us of his Maties Commission for causes Eccl̄all that there are at this present time remayning in divers partes within this kingdome of England sundry sortes of seperatists, Novalists, & sectaryes, as namely Brownists, Anabaptists, Arrians, Traskites, ffamilists, and some (?) other sortes of schismatiques, Novalists, & Sectaryes, who uppon Sundaye & other festival dayes, under pretence of Repetition of sermons, have & doe ordinarily use to meet together in great numbers in private houses & other obscure places, & there keepe & maintayne private Conventicles, & Exercises of Religion by the lawes of this Realme prohibited, to ye corrupting & perverting of sundry his Maties good subjects, & ye manifest contempt of his highnes' lawes & ye disturbance of ye Church : for reformation whereof these are to will & require you in his Maties name by virtue of his highnes' comm̄sson for causes Eccl̄all under ye great seale of England to us & others directed, that taking with you a constable & such other convenient assistance as you shall think meet, you doe enter into any house where you shall have intelligence, or probably suspect that any such private Conventicles, meetings, or Exercises of Religion are held kept & frequented, & therein and every severall Roome thereof you doe make diligent search for them, as also for all unlawfull & unlicensed books ; And all & every such persons or books so found at any such unlawfull meetinge to seaze apprehend & attach or cause to be seazed apprehended & attached, wheresoever they may be found, as well in places exempt as not exempt, & that thereuppon you detain them under safe custody, & bring them forthwith before us or others our Colleagues his Maties Commissioners in that behalf appointed, to be examined dealt withall and disposed of as shall be thought meet and agreeable to Justice. And for the better furtherance of y^r^ execution hereof we will require in his Maties name by authority aforesaid, all Justices

of the Peace, Mayers, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, & all other his Maties officers and loving subjects to be ayding and assisting unto you in and about the execõn hereof as they tender his Maties service and will aunswer ye contrary at their pill. Given at Lambeth this sixt of April 1634.

W. Cant. Is. Lambe

Giul : London Henry Marten

Ian Windebank To all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, high & petty Constables & other his Maties officers of the peace, & to all every or any of them as well in places exempt as places not exempt.

The Canterbury Church-Book

OF the existing Congregational churches which were constituted before the Great Schism of 1662, very few possess contemporary records of their earliest years. Of such records one of the most valuable is the Original Minute Book of the church worshipping in Guildhall Street, Canterbury. Above ten years ago a strong desire was expressed by some members of that church that the Congregational Historical Society would publish their old "Church-Book" in a complete form; but this, for reasons of finance, was impossible. Since then, the late Jas. Watkinson, Esq., of Herne Bay, made a careful transcript of the earlier and more important part of the ancient record, together with a summary of the remainder. On his death his historical MSS., including the aforesaid transcript and summary, were bequeathed to the Congregational Library; and we have pleasure in laying the most

valuable portion of them before our readers. We give the original record, down to 1691, *verbatim et literatim*, but with some omissions. To this we append a much-condensed outline of the church's history from that date to the present time.

A few points may be noted as to the type of Congregationalism that was cultivated at Canterbury in Puritan times. Congregational Independency is strongly asserted (26 : 12 :/46), including the power of Ordination; other pastors, if present, being merely Witnesses (27 : 3 :/46). Yet the attendance of Messengers from other churches is desired at the constitution of a church, election of officers, etc., to Approve what is done Regularly (27:3: & 6:12:/46, 18:9:/47, 7:3:/48, etc.); but we are not told what constituted Regularity. Also the church claimed a real, if somewhat undefined, authority over its members (12:5:/49), which in some cases might be judicial (3:12:/57). It may be added that the "union" referred to on 28:3:/47 seems to have been soon followed by a coalescing of the two congregations in the city; and that in 1688–89 several members of the Canterbury Church resided at Faversham, who afterwards became a separate church. Note also the strict Calvinism of the creed affirmed on 7:10:1656.—Ed.

History of the Church of Christ wch was first gathered & settled (in the citye of Canterbury) in the way and order of the Gospell—

Anno Domī Chr: *1645*

1 Peter 2. 4:5

To whom (i.e. to Christ) coming as unto a living stone (disallowed indeed of men but chosen of God and precious) ye alsoe, as lively stones are built up a spirituall howse ——

Psalm 87. 4:5

And of Zion it shall bee said, this and that man was born in her; and the highest himself shall establish her. The Lord shall count when hee writeth up his people that this and that man was borne there.

Collos. 2. 5

— Joying and beholding yor order ——

Calvinus

In illa ecclesiæ forma quam Apostoli constituerunt unicum habemus veræ Ec--clesiæ exemplar;

i. e.

In that form of the church wch the Apostles constituted, wee have the only example of a true church.

Isaiah 2. 3

Come ye and let us goe up the mountaine of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he shall teach us of his wayes, & we will walke in his paths: for out of Zion shall goe forth ye law &c.

3 Jeremiah 14. 15

I will take yo^u^ on of a city, and two of a family, & I will bring you to Zion. And I will give you Pastors according to my owne heart

Anno Domini 1645

THE TWELF DAYE OF THE TWELF
MONTH ANNO *1645*

Thourough Rich mercie our Church was
Constituted. ∼ ∼

Our Brother Jones In the name of the Brethren made the Generall Confession of our fayth, and after wards all these Brethren Vnder Written made perticuler Declaration of the Worcke of Grace one their hearts. ∼

---

[1]Brother William Jones
Brother William Buckhurst
Brother John Dickenson
Brother William Reynoldsis
Brother Vingent Burton
Brother Zachariah Lee
Brother John Bisset
Brother Edward Dutch
Brother Josias Niccoless

[v]vert of

The Some of the Covenant that we did then
Enter into was as followeth. ∼ ∼

[1] A later hand has written "deceased" against all these names except the second.

2 Kings 23. 2

Anno Domini ℵ 1645

Exo. 24. 7
Neh. 9. 38

Wee poore Creturs being by the spirit of God convinsed of our lost and undone condition by nature (As being without Christ, And Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israell, and strangers from the Covenant of Promise, haveng noe Hope, and with out God in the world) And allsoe being perswaded in our hearts (by the same Spirit) that God out of Rich mercie hath prouided A recouerie in Christ by making a Couenant of Free Grace, In which hee Tenders Everlasting Lyfe, and Loue, fullie and freelie, to all those that (By the pow--er of the same Spirit) shall take hold on the same Couenant. Wee acknowledge our selves vnworthie to Enter Into, and In--sufficient to keep couenant wth the Great God, yet (By ye help of the Spirit of God) our desire is to Take hould one the Couenant of Free Grace, and wee doe solemnlye Avouch, and

Duet 26. 17

Sincearly Profes (In the name of Jesus Christ) that wee doe accept, and Acknowledge God for our God, and will Inde--voure (by the Power of the Spirit of Christ) to live as his

Acts 31. 32

People; by receiuing Jesus Christ, as our alone Prince,

Heb. 3. 1: 7. 17
Psal 25

and Sauiour: and as our alone Preist, Prophet, and King, Giue--ing vp our selves (As a holy Bodie or Church) to walke wth

Ish 33. 22
1 Cor. 15. 25
Gen. 5. 24

him in a Cordiall Subjection to all his Holye Ordinances; which hee hath, or shall reveal to us out of his Word; and

Is. 8. 20

wee doe allsoe Profes, that the sinceare desires of our soules

Acts 11. 23

are wth full purpose of heart to cleave to, and walk on wth

John 13. 34.

another In the exercise of the Worship of the Gospell, In a waye of Christian, and Brotherlye loue, Admonishing exhor--ting Reprouing Counselling Comforting; and helping one an--other

Anno Domini 1645

Forward in the waye to heaven; and in the worckes of holines: And this couenant wee make In the Presence of Allmightie God, Resoluing from our hearts, (As God shall Inable us) To keep the same, Faythfullie, Fullie, and Constantlie. ∾

God hath added to the Church since its constitution: Members as followeth Anno 1645

Brother John Hampton
Brother Ralph Roades
[1]Sister Marie Hunt
[1]Sister Ann Popioye
Sister Margret Harrison jun[r]
Brother Henirie Knight
Brother George Simpson
Brother Henirie Oxenbridge
Sister Elizabeth Kenn
Sister Margret Harrison sen[r]
Sister Kathern Dickenson
Sister Joan Simpson
Sister Martha Simpson
Sister Marie Williams

[1] A later hand has written "deceased" against all these names except the third and fourth.

Members Added to the Church Anno Domini 1646

Sister Joan Page
Brother John Atwell
Sister Elizabeth Kingsffoord
Sister Elizabeth Thatcher
Brother John Durant
Sister Sara Hopper
Sister Marie Atwell
Sister Elizabeth Aleberie
Sister Hanna Isbell
Sister Susan Nortlye
Sister Marie Maddoxe
Sister Frances Roads
Sister Ann Rayth
Sister Elizabeth Norwood
Sister Sara Raye
Sister Jane Spencer
Sister Frances Gould
Sister Judeth Chambers
Sister Cislye Ashenden
Sister Elizabeth Lewes
Brother Henirie Goring
Brother Ritchard Whyte
Sister Ann Biggs
Sister Ann Buck
Sister Elizabeth Snoade
Brother Arthur Norwood
Brother Jonah Fletcher
Sister Margret Courtopp
Sister Margret Aleberie
Sister Elizabeth Biggs

[*From this point the pagination of the MS. is not followed, and some entries are abridged.*—Ed.]

In 1647,	20 *others are named*	1657,	6 & 1 *are named*
1648,	2	1658,	3
1649,	8	1659 to 1668,	9 (time of persecution)
1650,	11		
1651,	6	1673,	13
1652,	3 & 1	1674,	4
1653,	0	1675,	1
1654,	3	1676,	2
1655,	5	1677,	3
1656,	3	167^{8}/9,	11

Then followed persecution, & Mr. Durant our Pastor & some others went to Holland, & some forsook ye Church & fell of, etc.[1] till Mr Starr was admitted, *etc.*

August 12th 1687

Then The Church kept a day To Begg direction in ye great affayer of a pastor. Mr Lardner, Mr Baity, Mr Pomfrey, Mr Goffe and Mr Harrison Assisting in ye worke of ye day : at which Tyme o^{r} Church Elected Mr Comfort Starre To be our Pastour.

March 18 (168^{7}/8 ?)

The Maior part of ye Brethren wth ye Pastor and Deacons : By a Joynt Consent of ye hole Church sate down : wth o^{r} Brethren : at ffeversham were o^{r} pastor : administered : The ordinance of ye Lord's Supper : But before ye administration Thereof was admitted ye seven Brethren & Sisters viz [*names follow.*]

[1] Mr. Durant died in 1686 or 7 : the exact date is unknown.

April 15 1688
Baptized by oure Pastour at ffeversham Brother Tuttle's child.
June 23d 1689
At a Church meeting at Faversham on a Sacrament day was added to the church, viz [*five names follow*]
June 26. 1689
The names of the church, viz., | Bro. Comfort Starre : Pastor.
Bro. Adam Baity : Assistant
Bro. Tho: Muggeld } Deacons.
Bro. Tho: Kinsford }
[*41 other names follow.*]
July 17th 1691 Being ye sixth day of ye weeke, was kept as a day of fasting and prayer ; and performed by ye Reverend Mr Mead & Mr James of London : and at ye end thereoff The Church did chuse o^r^ Christian ffriend and Brother Mr Samuel Harris for our pastor.

* * * *

Severall resolutions agreements & orders made after debate in the church.

1646 The 15 day of the 2^d^ month 1646.
Upon debate conserning the necessitye of a Pastor. It was resolved that wee would set apart a tyme for the choice of one. And thereupon wee appointed the 27th day of the 3d month to be kept as a day of fast for the humbling of o^r^selves befor the Lord, and the seeking of his face therein.
The 27th day of the 3d month. This day according to the former order was kept as a day of fasting & prayer : and in the end thereof wee did chuse & ordajne o^r^ Brother John Durant for o^r^ Pastor, there being present the Pastor of the Church at Dover wth some Bretheren of that church and ye church of Sandwich, who did approve of o^r^ Choice and gave vs the right hand of fellowship therein.
The 16th day of the 9th month. Agreed upon (wth full consent of the whole church) that the 28th day of this month shall bee kept as a day of Thanksgiving vnto God for vniting of vs together & giving of vs a Pastor. And that some of the Bretheren of the churches at Dover and Sandwich bee invited to come & joyne wth vs in that day.
The 22d day of the 11th month. It was ordered that upon the sixth day of the next week the whole church shall keep a day of Fasting & humiliation for the diversion of persecution with out & the prevention of errors and devisions w^th^in. and to begin at halfe an houre past seven in the morning : *etc.*

The 6th day of the 12th month. That a time be set a part when every member shall give their experiences

{ of the incoming of Jesus Christ.
of their growth in grace
of the temptations and corruptions which they wrestle with and what strength & victory they have over them.

Together with any spiritual experience of any kind. It was further agreed the time should be once a quarter in the yeare.

The 26th day of the 12th month. This day the desire of Mr Player, Mr Knight, Mr. Lee, & Mr Owen (as from the Bretheren in their Societye) were propounded unto the church. That in as much as they intend to settle themselves in the way & order of the Gospell as a church of Christ That therefore the church would be pleased to appoynt some as messengers to come unto them wth power from the church (in case they approve of them and their proceedings) to give them approbation and the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon the church did agree unanimously that the Pastor with our Brother Jones & Bro Reynolds should goe (as from the church) in this bisiness with these following instructions : [*The second condition expressly provided that* "the power of the church in admission, excommunication, choice of officers &c wth the administration of all the concerns of the church is in the church of a particular congregation solely and independently"]

They further asked that a convenient day might be appointed for a fast day on which to seek direction of God on the matter.

1647 The 4th day of the 1st month. [*This was the fast day appointed.*]

The 12th day of the 1st month. This day ther came Thomas Vsburne & Thomas Honseyde from some christians who live [in] & about Staplehurst to desire o^r^ Advice how they may regularly and comfortably come up into the order of the Gospell as a church of Christ, & thereupon it was Agreed by the church that a letter should bee drawen up to advice & jncourage them therein, and alsoe that the church should take some tyme in speciall to seeke God in their behalfe. And accordingly ther was a letter drawen up & sent them.

The 19th day of the 1st month. [*Afternoon service fixed for 3 o'clock, and once every fortnight some of the Brethren should exercise their gifts for the edification of the people*]

The 11th day of the 2nd month. [*A meeting purposely to be held on the 13th*] "to seeke God in the behalfe of o^r^ Pastor, that God would restore him to his perfect health & strength to goe in and out before vs again."

The 19th day of the 3d month. This day Mr Knight, Mr Lee, & Mr Butcher (bretheren of & messengers from o^r^ sister church in Canterbury) came & propounded to the church their intentions of chusing officers, & desired o^r^ prayers & assistance, & alsoe

that wee would send some messengers to them to y^t^ purpose. Thereupon it was ordered that o^r^ Pastor with o^r^ Bretheren Jones, Reinolds, Lee should goe to them.

The 23d of the same month.

Report was made by the messengers in the prementioned bisiness and their action approved.

At the same tyme The church upon the consideration of order (made the 12th of the first month) did order wth relation thervnto that o^r^ Brother Jones should goe as from the church to the christians in and about Staplehurst to visite them & give some help & direction to them about church affairs. And alsoe y^t^ o^r^ Brother Mascall of ye church of Dover be be entreated as from this church to accompanye him.

The 28th of the same 3d month. This day one of the Elders & one of the Brethren of o^r^ Sister church in Canterbury came to the church to give vs the right hand of fellowship, and after did join in giveing thanks to God for ther and our union.

The 30th of the 3d month. Report was made by Brother Jones concerning the constitution of the church at Staplehurst, and the church approved & ordered a letter to be sent to that church.

The 20th of the 4th month. The church did order that the Election of Brother Rainolds to the office of deacon stand firme, & that he shall upon the next Full church meeting bee settled and declared to bee a deacon.

The 3rd of the 7th month. Upon a debate conserning the business between ye Bretheren & the Brother Buckhurst it was fully agreed that ther shall bee a message sent to desire the churches of Dover, Sandwich, & heer in the citye of Canterbury to entreat them to send some to advise wth them what to doe in the said business.

The 8th day of the 7th month. This day, according to desire, there come to vs some messengers from the sister churches of Dover &c as to his withdrawall. [*And in this we find Mr. Player of Canterbury and Mr. Mascall of Dover.*]

The 18th day of the 9th month. This day the church received a letter from ye church at Staplehurst, intimating their intentions to chuse a Pastor and desiring of assistance therein : whervpon it was ordered y^t^ o^r^ Pastor & Deacon should goe to them ; And in case they did regularly proceed & act in their election that then they should in this churches name declare their approbation.

1648. The 7th day of the 3rd month. This day the church ordered that o^r^ Pastor & Deacon should goe to ye church at Sandwich (according to their desire by letter sent to this church) to see and approve of their order (in case it bee regular) in choosing of a Pastor.

1649 The 12th of the 5th month. This day upon a complaint to the church made by our Brother Prentice (Pastor of the church

of Sandwich) of some offence wch he had taken against o^r^ Brother Hills for his strong carraige to this church, as alsoe for that contrary to the opinion & practice of this & other churches hee had been ordayned & had taken upon him the charg of a people, & for that hee did promiscuously Baptize all. The church (in order to bring him to account) did order that o^r^ Brother Reinolds & Nicholls should goe to him & tell him that this church is offended wth him : and that this church account him as a Brother & under its power. And the church did further order that the Bretheren should aske him whether hee doe not acknowledge himself a brother & vnder this church's power.

The 28th day of the 8th month. This day the church received a letter (from some christians in and about Adisham) informing that they were joyned together in church fellowship, and giving an account of the manner therof. Vpon the reading and consideration of wch the church was fully satisfyed in their church estate : and therfore they did order that a letter should be drawen up and sent them by the hands of o^r^ Deacon & Brother Lee, who were chosen to give the right hand of fellowship to them in the name of this church : & alsoe to exhort that church wth full purpose of heart to cleave vnto the Lord.

The 10th day of the 9th month. This day upon the desire of o^r^ Sister Maddocks [*who had joined the church in 1646*] at Sandwich the church agreed vnto her dismission : And ordered that o^r^ Pastor should in the name of the church dismisse her vnto the care of the church of Christ at Sandwich.

1650 The 17th day of the Second month. [There having been some disagreement, and consequent going out from the church at Staplehurst ;] It was this day ordered that o^r^ Pastor and Deacon should goe as from this church to Staplehurst upon the 2nd day of the next week, to hear & help the Christians there in the business that relate to their breach : and their new constitution. [Mr. Brayne and the Bretheren at Staplehurst had brought the matter before the church at Canterbury by a letter.]

The 28th day of the 2nd month. [*We find in the Pastor's report on the visit to Staplehurst above referred to the following passage :—*] Wee also declared that being consulted for advice in the matter of joyning the church at Halden with this of Staplehurst, wee assented to and concurred in this decision. [*They also advised the re-electing of their Pastor.*]

The 5th day of the 5th month. This day the church did unanimously agree to breake bread in the Sermon House,[1] and ordered that henceforth it should bee there.

The 19th day of the 5th month. The church agreed that they would make use of the plate, (viz. 2 flaggons, 3 cupps,[2] 2 larg

[1] This was the name then applied to the Chapter-House of the Cathedral.
[2] One of these cups is still in the possession of the Cathedral authorities.

dishes, & 2 lesser guilded) wch were offered to the vse of the church by the sequestrators.

The 28th of the 5th month. At this tyme vpon the desire of the church of Adsham the church ordered the Deacon & o^r Brother Nicolls to goe to them vpon the 2nd day of the weeke, to assist and approve of what they shall regularly doe in order to the choice of an officer.

1651. The 28th day of the 7 month. Brother Lee was elected a Deacon by lot: he & Brother Mascall having been nominated for the office

1652 The 5th day of the 1st month It was agreed upon by the church that a letter should be drawen up & sent to the church of Sandwich wth reference to some difference & scruples amongst the members of that church, touching their Pastor receiving maintainance from the magistrates of that town.

The 14th day of the 1st month. This day was a letter read in the church from the church of Sandwich, giving thankes for the letter sent them, and desiring some bretheren to bee sent over to them to advise wth them &c. Whervpon the church ordered that the Pastor and the Deacons wth Brother Mascall & Brother Monnins & Brother Jones or any 3 of them should goe over to that church at the tyme desired by them.

The 20th day of the 7th month. This day the church considered of o^r Sister Susan Godferyes disorderly carraige: And did conclude that she had much sinned in going vnto witches to enquire about a husband, and in going vp & down to London in a distempered manner about it: besides saying & unsaying many things in relation to the said business. Alsoe that the said Sister had a very vntoward, rash, passionate spirit, And was not able to beare any orderly dealing to admonition, but that shee flyed out in vnseemly & vngodly speech. And farther that shee had spake irreverently of the church officers. Vpon the church considering her sinne, but wth all her natural infirmitye of fitts &c Did order that o^r Pastor and o^r Bretheren Jones Mascall Erbery should goe to her to admonish her of her sin, & exhort her to humiliation, & to declare till such tyme as shee should be humbled, & hold forth a good measure of sorrow and reformation, that the church could not, nor would not permit her to any further communion. Yet that the church did not excommunicate her, only admonish her till reformation.

1656 The 21st day of the 7th month. This day was read a letter containing the desyres of the church at Sandwich that the church would bee pleased to send over some to observe & joyne wth that church in a day of fast & prayer in order to the setting a part of an officer: & then in case they bee free to give approbation of that worke: Hearupon the church appointed o^r Pastor, & o^r Brother Mascall & o^r Brother Reinolds to goe vnto them for the purpose desired, & in case of regular proceeding to give the

officer wch that church shall make the right hand of the church's fellowship.

The 7th day of the 10th month. This day the church ordered that a letter of dismission shall bee written for o^r^ Brother Vincent Burton, to dismiss him from this church & to commend him to grace of Christ, & the oversight of the church wch is at Sandwich.

The 7th day of the 10th month. The church ordered that o^r^ Pastor, wth Brother Mascall & Brother Lee, should goe over to the church of Christ of Dover to joyne wth ye messengers of other churches in jndeavour to help that church about the clearing vp of the truths of Christ against the erro^rs^ of Arminius. And the church did joyntly agree that the Pastor should in the name of this church declare their faith in the following points, viz :—

1st That there is a particular & certayne Election of some psons from all eternitye mearly out of free grace.

2nd That the Lord Jesus Christ came not into the world to dye for all in general, but only for those elect ones w^h^ hee calls by the name of his sheep

3 That ther is speciall grace given forth in the work of regeneration & conversion, w^h^ is irresistible, & that it is not in the power or liberty of man's will to accept or not accept thereof.

4. That those who are once savingly wrought upon, and made partakers of grace, can never finally, & totally fall away, but shall certaynley (notwithstanding sin or Satan) persevere & continue in that grace vnto the end.

1657. The 3d day of the 12 month. [*Some differences having arisen on accounts between Brother Reinolds & Brother Starr, the church, after going into the matter, decided that Brother Starr should pay Brother Reinolds £8 : 3s., and also stated its belief* "that Brother Starr had in him very much of that wch was the root of all Evill—the love of money; & that thence proceeded the evill of his carraige in the case." *The church then admonished him.*]

1658 The 7th day of the ninth month. This day alsoe o^r^ Brother Starr[1] declared his sorrow and repentance for the offence of wch hee was formerly admonished, & the church was reconciled to him.

* * * * *

[As above stated, Mr. Durant retained the pastorate until he and others were driven by persecution to Holland about 1680. He was born about 1620, and is said by Edwards, of the *Gangraena*, to have been apprenticed to a maker of washing-balls in London. However, he was a capable scholar, and preached both

[1] Starr was a common name in Kent; there is nothing to show whether *this* Starr was of the same family with the pastor of 1687.

in Canterbury and Sandwich between 1641 and 1644. In this latter year he was appointed one of the Cathedral preachers, and retained this office till the Restoration. In 1669 he was reported to be preaching to a conventicle of "500 at least." Under the Indulgence of 1672 he was licensed to preach in a hall called The Almirey, Ambrey, or Almonry in Longport. He was the author of several books,[1] and is believed to have died in Holland before 1690.

His successor, Rev. Comfort Starr, M.A., was the son of a surgeon of the same name at Ashford. While a child he went with his father to New England, where in due time he became a fellow of Harvard College. Returning to England in 1655, he became minister of St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle, whence he was outed at the Restoration. In 1669 he was preaching at Cranbrook; and in April 1672 was licensed to preach in his own house at Sandwich. His pastorate at Canterbury lasted from 1687 to 1691, when he removed to Lewes, and died there in 1711.

Rev. Samuel Harris followed, 1691–96. In his time a meeting-house was built at a cost £555 : 19 : 2 on the site of the present church, but in what was then an obscure location called Dancing-House-Yard; the ground was given by John Kingsford.

Rev. George Sendall, 1696–1705. He came from the church presided over by Dr. Chauncey, in Mark

[1] The following are ascribed to him :—

1. *Comfort and Counsel for Dejected Souls*, 1651.
2. *Sips of Sweetness, or Consolations for Weak Believers*, 1651.
3. *The Salvation of Saints by the Appearances of Christ, Now in Heaven, Hereafter from Heaven*, 1653.
4. *A Discovery of Glorious Love*, 1655.
5. *The Spiritual Seaman, or a Manual for Mariners*, 1655; *reissued as The Christian's Compass*, 1658.
6. *Altum Silentium, or Silence the Duty of Saints*, 1659.
7. *A Cluster of Grapes taken out of the Basket of the Woman of Canaan*, 1660.

Lane; and after the death of his wife returned thither. In his time the present manse was given to the church.

Two short pastorates followed; Rev. John Phillips, 1705–10, and Rev. Samuel Pike, 1710–13. The latter left on account of ill-health.

Rev. Samuel Hebden, 1713–24, was a somewhat prolific writer on controversial topics: in his time a union was arranged with the Presbyterian church in the city, the minister of which became Mr. Hebden's co-pastor and successor.

Rev. Henry Dell, 1724–46, was formerly minister of the Presbyterian church. Soon after his resignation he conformed to the Episcopal church, and became vicar of Bethersden, where he died in 1763.

Rev. Henry Sheldon, 1748–98, was one of "the quiet in the land," and highly esteemed for "his upright character and conciliatory manners." He died in February 1803, aged 79.

Rev. Stephen Gurteen held the pastorate from 1799 to 1837. In 1806 the meeting-house was somewhat reduced in size, but much improved in situation, by the making of the new street called Guildhall Street. The church, which was much depressed when he first undertook the charge, was left by him in a flourishing condition.

Rev. W. F. Buck was co-pastor from 1828 to 1830; and Rev. Henry Cresswell from 1831 onward. Six years later that gentleman succeeded to the sole pastorate, and retained the charge till his death in 1879. His ministry was marked by almost uninterrupted progress, and his character was such as to win the esteem of all sects and parties. In 1876 the old meeting-house was demolished, and the present church built upon the site. This cost £5,552, and was dedicated on 13th June, 1877. In 1874 Rev. W. Ockleford became assistant minister, but only remained two years. Rev. E. Goodison entered on a similar engagement in 1878, and on the death of Mr. Cresswell was called to

the pastorate, but removed in 1883. Rev. B. Price ministered from 1883 to 1890; Rev. W. E. Stephenson from 1891 to 1906; and in the following year Rev. Chas. Sales entered on the pastorate whence he retired in 1916.]

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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

Vol. VII, No. 4] [OCTOBER, 1917

Contents

Editorial - - - - - - 197

John Magee - - - - - 200

The Salters' Hall Assembly and the Advices for Peace - - - - - 213

Congregational Hymnody - - - - 224

Rise and Progress of Congregationalism in Worcestershire - - - - 235

John Alden of the "Mayflower" - - 242

"Freedom after Ejection" - - - 245

State Prayers—The Niblock Collection - - 250

Brief Historical Sketch of the Church of Christ Meeting in Helen's Lane, Colchester - 254

Sir John Hartopp as Reporter - - - 262

The Canterbury Church-Book - - - 263

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EDITORIAL

OWING to the continuance of War conditions, the autumnal meetings of the Congregational Union have been on a reduced scale, and as a natural consequence our own meeting was similarly affected. In fact only a handful of members met at the Memorial Hall on 3rd October, by whom the minutes of our somewhat irregular May meeting were duly confirmed. No set paper was read; but a conversation was led by Rev. W. Pierce on the Relation of John Penry to the early London Separatists. We understand that Mr. Pierce has in hand a Life of Penry, which will deal with this matter at some length, and also with the allegation—lately revived—that the execution of Penry was "according to law." It was also mentioned that Rev. A. Gordon had undertaken to edit the minutes of the Cheshire Classis of the United Brethren: the only really important document of this kind which remains unprinted.

* *

The Congregational church at Ossett Green, near Wakefield, is in this month celebrating its Bicentenary. In connection with this celebration the pastor, Rev. J. Gomer Williams, has compiled an interesting history of that church, adorned with portraits of many of its ministers, and other illustrations; thus presenting a good example to other old-established churches which have a story to tell.

* *

There can be little doubt that, under normal conditions, 31st October, 1917, would have been marked by an international celebration, as the Fourth Centenary of the Reformation; which is usually held to have had its formal commencement on the corresponding day of 1517, when Luther posted the 95 theses at Wittenburg. Unhappily, such a celebration is now impracticable; but we may take occasion to point out the error into which Luther and the German Reformers fell, and to which the

moral collapse of Germany is chiefly owing—an error against which the fundamental principle of Congregationalism would have been an effectual safeguard, and would have made the present calamitous War impossible.

The Unreformed Church had accepted the headship of the Pope as the supposed Vicar of Christ; Luther and his colleagues, repudiating that authority, conceded supremacy in ecclesiastical matters to the Ruler of the State. The result was that the clergy either became the mere tools and mouthpieces of the Prince, or, if not, were utterly impotent as a moral force to restrain or even rebuke the most monstrous criminality of kings and kaisers. Congregational Independency may, like other church systems, have its shortcomings; it may, indeed, present an ideal only to be realized in the Millennium; but at least it repudiates the ecclesiastical dominion alike of priest and prince, and owns no Head of the Church except the Lord "who loved it and gave Himself for it."

BALANCE SHEET OF CONGREGATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR 1916.

Credit.

	£	s.	d.
Jan. :			
Balance at Bank	27	16	4
Cash in hand	10	5	0
Feb. :			
Sales of C.H.S. literature (1915) ...	0	5	10
Annual subscriptions	56	9	9
Total to credit	£94	16	11

Debit.

	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions to B.H.S. (1916)	0	5	0
Fred S. Thacker: Postages, etc. ...	0	4	5
Hire of Council Room, Memorial Hall	1	1	0
Transactions VII, 1 : Printing, postage, etc.	32	4	5
Transactions VII, 2 : Printing, postage, etc., and sundries	29	6	9
Total paid	63	1	7
Balance at Bank... ... £ 28 15 4			
Cash in hand 3 0 0			
	31	15	4
	£94	16	11

Examined with vouchers and certified correct.

B. D. W. Gregory.

July 5, 1917.

John Magee

A Venturesome Divine

EARLY in the autumn of 1916 in the muniment room (No. 20 Assembly's Church House, Belfast) of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, Mr. J. W. Kernohan, one of the honorary secretaries, put before me a bound manuscript quarto, presented by Mrs. Crozier (daughter of the late Rev. Henry Montgomery, LL.D., and widow of Rev. John Armstrong Crozier, Newry) and purporting to contain:

"Sixteen Sermons in this Book
Book 32."

The preacher's name and place of delivery had been cancelled in ink, but Mr. Kernohan had already deciphered the former desideratum as being John Magee, and I was able to make out the clause: "Sermoms Preached in Ravenstonedale." Here let me add that to Mr. Kernohan's facility in calling my attention to various sources, the chief value of this paper is due.

Magee (variously spelled; I believe it may be Latinised "ventosus") is a common name in the North of Ireland, and has strong Presbyterian associations. James Magee, before and beyond the middle of the eighteenth century (1736 to 1789) was a famous Belfast printer. In the last century was founded the Magee College (now McCrea-Magee College) at Derry,

whose students can receive degrees in Arts from Trinity College, Dublin, and in Divinity from the Presbyterian Theological Faculty, Belfast and Derry.

From discoveries, noted farther on, it is fairly clear that John Magee was a native of Co. Down, where his connections point both to Ballynahinch and to Kilkeel. It is equally clear that (though this for an Irishman was unusual) he received at any rate his theological training in London. We may safely place him as a student at the Academy, conducted in Hoxton by Joshua Oldfield, D.D. (1656–1729), Moderator of the Nonsubscribers at Salters' Hall (1719), with the assistance (from 1699) of William Lorimer, M.A. (1641–1722), Moderator of the Subscribers, and the first trustee named in the will of Dr. Daniel Williams, Oldfield being the second. The composition of his sermons shows Magee as a man of cultured mind, and with some pretentions to learning, as evidenced by his cited snatches of Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew—a combination of linguistic acquirements noted by John Bunyan as having no Biblical precedent, save in the instance of Pontius Pilate.

To his association with English Presbyterians (and, as we shall see, Congregationals) we may confidently assign the attitude of defiance which he assumed towards the strict Presbyterian system. He had evidently imbibed some tincture of the "dangerous principles" of the "Modern New Lights"—an expression which, when coined in 1726 by John Malcome, M.A., of Dunmurry, had no immediate reference to laxity of doctrine, but primarily denoted a spirit of ecclesiastical insubordination.

We first meet with Magee in the manuscript Minutes of Down Presbytery, under date of 6th February, 1710/11. Here we read "Sufficient Testimonials now produced by Mr Jo: M^{cc}Gee subscribed by Mr. Lorimer & Mr. Lo Min^{rs} in London this Presbytery observed the Directions of our last particular Synod

in Belfast with respect to the said M^cc^Gee" (*D*). I am unable to identify "Mr Lo"; he may possibly be Peter Lobb (d. 1718) of Horley, Surrey.

The Minutes of the Belfast Sub-synod, if extant, are not accessible, but the "Directions" referred to are made clear by the following extract from the printed Records of the General Synod of Ulster, meeting at Belfast on 19th June, 1711: "Whereas, the Interloquitur [private session] of the Synod of Belfast having read a paper without a date, said to be a Testimonial of Licence giv'n to one Mr John M^c^Gee, subscribed by some Ministers in South Britain, referr'd the said Mr M^c^Gee to the Presbytry of Down, injoyning the said Presbytry to take account of him, and report their judgment to this Synod; the Presbytry of Down now made report that Mr McGee has sufficient Testimonials, which being produced to this Synod were judg'd sufficient, and any Presbytry within our bounds allow'd to imploy him in an orderly way" (*U*). It is significant of the caution observed by English Nonconformist Ministers, at that time, that Magee's licence, though bearing signatures, had neither place nor date attached to it. If "Mr. Lo" was Stephen Lobb (1647?–1699) then the licence was of old date, and Magee might have been a student brought from Ireland by John Ker, M.D., in 1689. This, though perhaps not impossible, seems highly improbable.

On 26th of September, 1711, we find "Mr John M^cc^Gee" preaching by appointment before Down Presbytery at Donaghadee on John iii. 3 ("Except a man be born again," etc.) (*D*). Evidently his pulpit performance was satisfactory.

Next year begins the struggle for the appointment of John Magee to the vacant charge of Ballynahinch. There are in Ireland at least four localities bearing the name Ballynahinch (island-town; said island being a crannoge). This one is Ballynahinch of the battle, a scrimmage in the '98, when 1,500 regulars under

General Nugent made short work of 4,000 insurgents. Near it is a chalybeate spring, known as Ballynahinch Spa. At Down Presbytery on 16th June, 1712, John Chapman and Andrew Maxwell, Commissioners from Ballynahinch, ask that Magee may be ordinary supply "for this Ensuing Month." Presbytery, conceding only a half of what was asked for, appoint Magee as supply at Ballynahinch for "Sabbath come a fortnight and Sabbath come 3 weeks" (*D*).

He seems to have made the best of his opportunity; for, on 21st October, 1712, we find Ballynahinch desiring him "as their Supplier for this Ensuing Month, and that a Minister may be appointed to draw up a Call for him" (*D*). Exactly what had occurred in the meantime we can but guess; any way, it had not ingratiated Magee with Down Presbytery. They charge him with "imprudence, unmannerliness, wrangling temper, bearing himself too much in upon the people of Ballynahinch, and unsuitable Expressions in preaching and praying" (*D*). Hence it was carried unanimously in the negative against him as fit to be Pastor at Ballynahinch. However, they appoint him to supply Drumca (battle-ridge) on the fourth Sabbath of November. Hereupon he asks for testimonials, and we read: "Mr John Magee desiring his Testimonials; its ordered that Mr. James Reid [Killinchy] and Archibald Dickson [Saintfield] draw 'em up, which was done, and the said Testimonials being read and approved, were Subscribed by appointment by the Moderator [John Goudy, Ballywalter] and Cl[erk; Hugh Ramsey, Drumca]" (*D*).

At the next meeting of Down Presbytery, 25th November, 1712, Ballynahinch reappeared by commission, asking for their supplication to be reconsidered, and affirming that above 147 heads of families will not "contribute for the supplies they have had, or for any other for the time to come," if they cannot obtain

Magee. Presbytery, however, had fresh ground of complaint against Magee, who admitted that he had preached at "Reddemmon" for "three Lord's Days," without being appointed so to do. Now Rademon (demon's ring), not as yet a distinct congregation, was within the bounds of Saintfield. Before the building of a meeting-house at Rademon, worship was held (apparently on week-days) in "Mr. Johnston's barn." Archibald Dickson, the Saintfield pastor, who had aided in drawing up testimonials for Magee, now looked upon him as a poacher on his preserves. Dickson accordingly reported to Presbytery that he had been at Rademon on the Saturday before the last of the three Lord's Days, and had heard Magee alleging that the refusal of the Ballynahinch supplication was contrary to Scripture, namely to Acts vi. 6: "Whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands upon them." Here was textual proof that Presbytery ought to have ordained Magee to Ballynahinch. The compliment to Presbytery, implied in recognizing their apostolic character, did not weigh with Dickson, who told Magee he was disorderly and had too great an opinion of himself; whereupon Magee promised not to preach at Rademon again, after the following day. Presbytery, on this report, unanimously voted Magee disorderly, specifying "his weakness, imprudence, prevaricating temper, and disorderly carriage in Encouraging people to desert the public ordinances in yir own Congregations, by preaching to 'em on several Lord's Days without the direction of the Prby, or allowance from the Minister of the place, and that even after admonition to the Contrary." Hence Presbytery adhere to the rejection of Ballynahinch supplication, and Magee is "admonished" (*D*). It would appear, however, that Magee's disorderly escapade at Rademon may now take rank as a case of intelligent anticipation. For, in the following year (1713), Rademon was wrested from Saintfield and erected into a new

congregation, under the name of Kilmore (great church) (*R*).

Still, this is not the end of the Ballynahinch business. On 6th January, 1712/3, commissioners from Ballynahinch for the third time approach Down Presbytery desiring that Magee "may again be received as probationer in the bounds of this Meeting, that he may be yir ordinary Supplier for the Ensuing Month." Presbytery adhere to their previous finding, though Ballynahinch people "think they have mett with hard treatment." Yet, in the circumstances, commissioners desist from their application, "being fully satisfied that it will be most for Mr Magee's comfort." They then ask a hearing for Robert Worling. This they get (*D*).

Next month, on 10th February, 1712/3, it is reported to Down Presbytery that Ballynahinch people are satisfied with Worling's doctrine, but cannot justify their commissioners in desisting from prosecuting their appeal for Magee. Thereafter certain minutes (not known to be extant) of the Belfast Sub-synod, relating to Magee, were read. As a result, his testimonials were demanded back, and given to the clerk; he was rebuked for his "disorderly and imprudent carriage," and it was agreed that he shall preach "in no congregation in the bounds of this Meeting but by the appointment and order of the Presbytery, unless it be in such a case as the Minister who may think fit to employ him, be present to hear him" (*D*).

This marks the end of Magee's endeavour to achieve a settlement at Ballynahinch. Neither was Worling the successful man. The vacancy was at length filled by the installation on 20th March, 1714, of James McAlpine, chaplain to the Hamilton family at Killeleagh Castle, and conductor from 1697 of a School of Philosophy, for the benefit of candidates for the Irish Presbyterian ministry.

Meanwhile Magee, by what inducements moved

there is nothing to show, had turned his attention to Westmorland. Here he became a candidate for the pastorate at Ravenstonedale (pronounced, to-day, Russendale) vacant by the death in September, 1712, of James Mitchell, who left his flock somewhat divided in matters of theology. Ten days after McAlpine's installation at Ballynahinch, Down Presbytery met at that place (30th March, 1714), when "A Brother of Mr Jn° Magee made application for testimonials to Mr Jn° Magee now in England; upon wch Mr Hugh Ramsey produced two letters from some ministers, wherein they testify that the greatest part of the congregation of Roundstondale being for the Westminster assembly's confession of faith are most forward for Mr Magee's settlement with 'em as their Pastor, and that the aspersions cast on him by Baxterian party are groundless, they having heard him vindicate himself upon head & found his sentiments in the case & arguments agreeable to the foresaid confession & judgement of the divines, and being both the Ministers, & that people, except [corner torn] with the Baxterian notions, are clear for his settlement in that congregation, and that there is nothing hinders the same being done in an orderly way, but the want of Testimonials from this Presbry; they therefore earnestly desire that the said Testimonials be transmitted to him with all expedicõn. The Presbry having seriously consider'd this affair, and finding upon such good authority a favourable character of Mr. Magee's behaviour since he left us, & that all reports to his prejudice were but false and groundless, are satisfied that testimonials be granted him, and appoint Mrs John Mairs [Newtownards] and Hugh Ramsey to draw 'em up wch was accordingly done" (*D*).

Without delay Magee was ordained at Ravenstonedale, on 14th April, 1714 (*C*). There was, however, a secession, fomented by Thomas Dixon, M.D. (1680–1729), then the Whitehaven pastor, and head of the

Academy there, a great friend of Calamy, and an advanced disciple of the Baxterian school. This secession had ministers in Dixon's pupil, Caleb Rotheram (1715–16), a name of note, and James Mallison (1716–22), and endured for several years longer without a settled minister (*C.N*). Magee's flock numbered 300 hearers, and included 4 gentry, three of them county voters; it was aided by grants from the Congregational Fund (*Ev.*).

The sermons contained in the manuscript volume which opened this inquiry belong to the years 1721 and 1722. One is dated June, 1721, another bears the subscription "Finis Sept. 29, 1722." This may suggest that the volume is in the preacher's autograph, and was perhaps intended for publication. The sermons are lengthy and full of matter. Evidently Magee was what was called in my boyhood "a meaty preacher," not a mere provider of sugar-plums to occupy a brief interspace between soloists. A young lady once asked, respecting a certain preacher at a special service which she had been unable to attend: "Did he go on very beautifully?" "No, my dear," came the reply; "he crammed best part of an hour with solid hard gospel grounding, and before he was half through, the choir looked as if it were afflicted with biliary disorder." Magee's discourses would exceed an hour in delivery, but would very likely be divided between morning and afternoon, or between Sunday and Sunday. His dominant aim in preaching was practical—that is to say, he made doctrine a reason and foundation for duty. Some few of his topics are directly ethical. While obviously cognisant of varieties of opinion, and touching them with care and tact, he makes in due course his own explicit avowal of unchanged views on such cardinal topics as the Divine Trinity and the Divine Predestination (*S*).

The parish register of Ravenstonedale shows that

Magee lost a son, buried on 2nd December, 1725(*C*). In the following year a new meeting-house was begun at Ravenstonedale, and after completion was duly registered on 10th April, 1727. A gallery was added in 1731 "by the procurement of" one of the trustees, Ralph Milner (*C*), Arian minister at Great Yarmouth, a native of Ravenstonedale (*B*). On 11th February, 1733, Magee buried at Ravenstonedale his wife, Eleanor. After this sad event he resigned his charge and returned to Ireland, there to engage in a fresh encounter with a Presbytery, this time that of Armagh (Macha's height).

The congregation of Mourne in that Presbytery, having its seat at Kilkeel (narrow church), Co. Down, was still under the care of its first minister, Charles Wallace, ordained as long ago as 21st July, 1696 (*R*). Magee was anxious to fill the post of his assistant and successor, and the congregation was anxious to have him. Once more, Magee threw away his chance by acting without respect for Presbyterian rules. The General Synod of Ulster, in session at Derry on 22nd June, 1734, records as follows:—

"An appeal from a sentence of the presby of Ardmagh Lodged by Mr John Magee came now before the Synod. The appeal was read and all the minutes of the presby relating to that affair with a great part of very long reasons of sd appeal which had not been sent to the presby of Ardmagh, and to which said presby answered *extempore*.

"Also a supplication from part of Mourne congregation presented by Mr Thos McClement in which they complain yt tho' an assistant in the work of the ministry to the aged pastor Mr Wallace was necessarie yet they cou'd not get Mr Magee settled among them, but discouragements cast in the way by their Presby which sent a committee to diswade their sending to England for him, &c. Then the parties were removed, and the Synod considered what they

had heard from both sides. But finding they could not issue this affair, it being now Saturday, and diverse members of the Synod already gone, & others hasting out of town, came to the following Resolutions :—

"1st That as far as they have heard viz : upon the first article of the Libel against Mr Magee, it appears to us that the presby of Ardmagh hath acted very agreeable to our rules of Discipline, but forasmuch as Mr Magee pleads it would be a detriment to his case y^t a final judgment sho'd be given before his answer to the other articles be heard, & for a reason above given.

"2^d Resolved that the Synod will not come to a final determination at this time, but commit it to a select Committee.

"3^d Resolved that the sentence of the presby of Ardmagh suspending Mr Magee from the exercise of his min^ry for lying and intrusion into Mourne congregation both proved against him shall remain in force till the meeting of s'd Committee,

"The presby of Ardmagh and Mr Magee were called and the above resolutions read to them, but Mr Magee utterly refused to submitt alledging conscience for refusal, the Synod reasoned with him for some time, but without success.

"The Mod^r [George Lang, Loughbrickland], Mr [Gilbert] Kennedy sen^r [Tullylish], Mr [Robert] Craighead [Capel Street, Dublin] and Mr [Samuel] Ross [Derry] were desired to converse and reason with him and make report in the afternoon" (*U*).

The following is the report :—

"The Brethren appointed to converse with Mr Magee report that they reasoned with him, but could make no impression upon him. The Synod resolv'd that it would be to no purpose to appoint a Committee, but thought fit to leave him as they found him. He came in and desired a coppy of our Minutes, which the Synod judged

he was no way entitled to, seeing he refused submission to us" (*U*).

With this curt refusal closes the career of Magee, so far as revealed in authentic Irish records. How long he maintained an irregular connection with the Mourne congregation is not in evidence. Presbyteries, we may permit ourselves to think, handled him somewhat fiercely, though we do not know what provocation he may have given. In the art of getting round a Presbytery he had evidently made no progress during the score of years intervening between 1714 and 1734. We may remember that in Ireland, at the former of those dates, there was no legal Toleration for Dissent. In the policy of Conventiclers it was of the utmost importance that no charge of anything amounting or approaching to lawlessness should be levelled against their denominational action. Irish Toleration was delayed till 1719. Let it be said that, when it came, it was not disfigured by that demand, on the part of the State, for a doctrinal subscription on the part of the church, which vitiated the liberty allotted by the English Act of 1689.

A vague recollection of Magee's connection with Mourne has given rise to a curious myth. Irish myths arise easily in a country in which the teaching of history is, on religious grounds, banished by the educational authorities from the National Schools. Sheer fatuous guesses are not unfrequently found masquerading as tradition.

In 1871 Rev. John Elliott (*d.*, 17th August, 1898) contributed to the *Evangelical Witness* a "Sketch of Presbyterianism in Mourne." In this paper, on the whole commendable, he refers to Magee. He writes on the information of Thomas Graham, of Kilkeel, a member of the Mourne congregation, who, somewhat later, in a manuscript paper dated 18th August, 1887, specifies, without naming, his authority. This was "an old lady" who, subsequently to 1860, told Graham as follows: "Mr Magee preached here in a very early

age; he was a relation of my Aunt, who was a very old woman when she died; I was a little girl at the time of her death; Mr Magee was preaching in my aunt's life time" (*G*). Not finding Magee's name in the succession of the Mourne ministry, Graham and Elliott, on the strength of the vague chronology "a very early age," took upon themselves to place Magee's ministry prior to that of Charles Wallace. Graham strains arithmetic in the endeavour to enlist "my Aunt" as a witness to preaching, anterior to 1696. Hence Elliott absurdly calls Magee "the first Presbyterian minister of Mourne" (*E*), adding that "he is said to have been one of the ministers confined in Carlingford Castle" (*E*). The date of this persecuting confinement was June, 1663, and no such name is among the "seven in number" mentioned with their names by Patrick Adair, the historian of the period (*A*). Magee, Elliott further says, "was never married" (*E*), which we know to be erroneous. He lived, says Elliott, at Drummonlane, and with him lived his sister Mrs. Nicholson, whose great-great-grandchild was living in 1871 (*E*). All this may be true, and so may the following: "He was buried, [no date given] in a portion of ground where there is a small grove, nearly opposite the National School House in Dunraven about a quarter of a mile from Kilkeel." Some fine day, I may visit the spot.

What is certain is that Magee returned to Ravenstonedale, perhaps after the death at Kilkeel of Charles Wallace, 12th July, 1736 (*R*). He lived in the village, and again officiated in the meeting-house (*C*), which seems to have had no other minister from 1742 (*N*). "In a letter dated 1st July, 1743, the Rev. James Scott, minister at Horton-in-Craven, referred to a meeting at Ravenstonedale which Mr Magee, minister of the place 'had engaged to call,' but which had been deferred owing to that gentleman's illness. Two months later, Mr Magee having died meanwhile (probably on a journey to Ireland) an urgent invitation was addressed

to Mr Scott to accept the pastorate," which he declined (*C*).

Thus ends our knowledge of John Magee, a scholarly and venturesome divine, whose death, we gather, occurred in July or August, 1743.

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ALX : GORDON.

The Salters' Hall Assembly and the Advices for Peace

(March 1719)

"NO creed could have been so fatal to our Peace as this Paper of Advices." So wrote Thomas Bradbury to John Barrington-Shute, Esq., in a letter which was entitled, "Answer to the Reproaches cast on those Dissenting Ministers who subscribed their Belief of the Eternal Trinity." [1] He suspected—with good reason—that Barrington-Shute was the author of an account of the Salters'-Hall proceedings which laid at his door—also with good reason—the chief blame for their scandalous character and failure. Barrington-Shute was a member of Bradbury's church in New Court (previously Fetter Lane), and the two had long worked together in politics. Bradbury implies that he had secured for the other, "four or five years ago," his "seat in Parliament" for Berwick.[2] They were both active and prominent Whigs. But there was no real friendship between them. Alike masterful, each in his own way, and by no means at one in theological opinion, an open rupture could be only a question of time. And the rupture came when the layman presumed to "advise" ministers how to deal with the Exeter affair. Mr. Barrington-Shute knew all about this—at least on one side—from his friend, Rev. James Peirce. His anxiety to make peace in the west and preserve it in London was undoubtedly sincere—on political grounds even more than for the sake of religious unity. For

[1] Dated 11th April, 1719. [2] Answer to the Reproaches, p. 35.

there was a Bill before Parliament (introduced by Earl Stanhope on 13th December, 1718) for repealing the Schism Act, etc., and its opponents were neither few nor weak. It passed the Lords by 55 against 33 before Christmas, and the Commons on 18th February. But its advocates had more than one anxious moment, especially when some of their own side (nominally Presbyterians) urged the addition of a Trinitarian Test and cited the case of Mr. Peirce as a main reason for it.[1] Here is the clue to Mr. Barrington-Shute's rather precipitate action. While the fate of the Bill was still in suspense he convened (for 5th February) a meeting of what Calamy calls "the Private Committee of the Dissenters," and laid before them a paper for their consideration. It was a first draft of the Advices for Peace. According to Bradbury "it went hard through the committee."[2] As to its original form we cannot be quite sure, but the form in which it was afterwards published is (with omission of the first paragraph) as follows :—

"The Sentiments of several Gentlemen touching the Methods of Healing the present Divisions among Protestant Dissenters.[3]

. . . It is with the greatest concern that we have heard of some unhappy religious Differences and Disputes amongst some of our Brethren in the West Country ; which are likely to spread farther if not prevented by the Blessing of God on such Christian and Prudent Methods as ought to be taken to avert so great a calamity and Reproach to us, as we are Christians, and a Body of men differing in opinion from the Majority of the Nation. . . . We would by all proper Means promote Peace among Our Brethren, and thereby the true Interest of our Country ; but We ought not to pursue such good Ends by any Methods that are inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity ; nor ought We, in order to procure a seeming Peace and Quiet, to make use of any of those Ways,

[1] *Calamy's Life*, vol. ii, pp. 402–3.

[2] Answer to the Reproaches, p. 37. The reference seems to be to this meeting of the Private Committee, but it may be to that of the General Committee on the 19th.

[3] Pp. 81–5 of A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Tong Mr. Smith Mr. Robinson Mr. Reynolds . . . to which is added, An Appendix containing *Two Letters* sent by some *Dissenting Gentlemen* to their Ministers. . . . By a Layman, 2nd ed., 1719. [In Cong. Lib. G., f. 14, Tract 3].

which We have so Justly complain'd of in others, as laying an unreasonable Yoke on the consciences of Christians. Whatsoever Human Declarations, or Doctrinal Tests, the Civil or Ecclesiastical Powers of the several Christian Countries have thought fit to enjoin (tho' contrary to each other) yet ought We to stand to that undoubted Protestant Principle which we have hitherto glory'd in—that the Holy Scriptures are the only Rule of the Faith and Practice of Christians. Having these Principles fixed in Our Minds, as undoubted Rules and Standards for directing our Conduct, We consider the following Methods will be the most agreeable to such evident Principles, as well as the most Prudent that can be taken to prevent the several Mischiefs which have been mentioned, and which We have Reason to believe will follow from a different conduct.

1. That we should all of Us, according to Our several Capacities and Opportunities, and in a more especial manner those that are Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, Endeavour to allay all unreasonable jealousies Concerning the Sentiments and opinions of others, particularly Ministers. That the Christian principles of Charity, and mutual forbearance should be promoted. That an Intemperate degree of Zeal in judging of the Christianity and Sincerity of their Brethren should be avoided; and that Peace and Love, which are the great Characteristics of Christians, be as much as is possible, obtained.

2. If this Method shall not be found Effectual, but notwithstanding Some Christians shall accuse others, or their own Ministers as not holding the Christian faith, or as propagating Opinions, which they conceive to be inconsistent with it: that no such accusation should be in the least regarded by Ministers or others, to whom Application shall be made for Advice on such occasions; unless two or more Persons shall Subscribe their names to such accusation, as plainly and openly accusing, and being ready to support and justify such accusation: that by this means private insinuations, tending to give scandal, may be avoided, and Proceedings may be had in that open and sincere way which the Gospel prescribes.

3. That when there is a proper Accusation made and duly supported as aforesaid, the Person accused should be first privately admonished, before the Matter be brought under the Examination of any public Assembly, or the person accused put under the necessity of publicly defending himself.

4. If at last any shall be called to so difficult a work, as that of judging the faith of their Brethren, and determining their titles to the name of Christians, their capacity of being members of Christian Churches and their Hopes of Salvation; we assure ourselves they will, in a matter of so great moment, adhere stedfastly to the Protestant principle; will make use of no human

decisions, human forms or compositions, either to torture or condemn their Christian brethren : that they will think nothing, but the plain and express declarations of Holy Scripture, a sufficient authority to justify their Condemning any, as not holding the faith necessary to Salvation; and that in so awful a case as judging the servants of our common Lord and Master they will, we doubt not, act as those who expect his appearance.

5. If any Minister or Congregation shall differ, as to the expediency of these methods, or shall think any other more proper ; we hope they will, as intending the same good end, still preserve Charity and Communion with those Ministers and Congregations, that shall think fit to pursue these advices.

We hope that, by the blessing of God on these methods, all the dangers we apprehend may be prevented ; but if our Endeavours prove ineffectual to those ends, we shall have the comfort, that we have not neglected our duty as men and Christians.

This, with names subscribed, was the paper submitted to the "Body of Protestant Dissenters in and about London" on 19th February. Bradbury was present, and appears at once to have met the proposal to consider it paragraph by paragraph with an alternative, viz., "That as these things give us a sad presage of the Divine Judgments, so we ought to set apart some Times and Places for Prayer and Humiliation, to beg of God *the Spirit of Love and of a sound Mind.* And after that choose some of our number and send 'em to Exeter" [1]

This being negatived,[2] the other was carried "without any Division or any considerable appearance of Hands to the contrary." [3]

Nothing more was done on the 16th, nor was any progress made with the Advices of the next meeting on 24th February. This was all taken up by hot debate on the question : "Whether in some part of the Advices to be sent to Exeter, there should be inserted a Declaration of Faith in the Holy Trinity." Bradbury, speaking (as he said) "by the unanimous Direction of the Body of

[1] Answer to the Reproaches, p. 30.
[2] Bradbury says he "was interrupted by an ungodly sneer."
[3] "In a very numerous assembly of ministers."

the Independents"[1] was strong for this, not to say fierce; and, at the same time, gave his reasons for flouting the Advices.[2] His language and (still more, perhaps) his tone was—on his own showing—far from complimentary to the "Gentlemen." He resented their initiative as arrogance. They were playing the part of Diotrephes. "And don't suppose that *we*, who have contended so much against the Descent of the Apostolical authority upon *Bishops* should acknowledge any Pretensions to it in *Gentlemen*: no, 'tis no more in Long Wigs than in Lawn Sleeves."[3]

Such an outburst in such an atmosphere may well explain why he was "Hiss'd." At length the Assembly came to a vote, and decided by 57 to 53 *not* to include the suggested Declaration. It was a small, but fateful, majority. Never since has Nonconformity presented a united front. An adjournment at once took place to 3rd March, when there was a record attendance of 123.[4] The prescribed business of this meeting was to go "through the Advices." But hours passed before they could be reached—hours of angry talk. Some complained of insult received at the previous meeting; some of the scandalous report, which had been spread outside, that the 57 had declared against the Trinity. Bradbury, also, took up time in trying to prove (not unsuccessfully) that the 57 included many not strictly entitled to vote.[5] Finally, "a certain Roll of Paper" was produced, "wherein was contain'd . . . the *first acticle* of the *Church of England* and the 5th and 6th *Answers* in the *Assembly's Catechism*." So the malcontents had come prepared for a second trial of strength; and this was the signal. Those willing to sign were invited to go up into the gallery and 60 responded. A dozen or so left the Hall. Some 50,

[1] Answer, p. 17. [2] Id. p. 28*f*.

[3] He may not have used these words in the debate, but certainly the equivalent of them (id. 39).

[4] Id. p. 15. [5] Id. pp. 14, 15.

including the Moderator (Dr. Joshua Oldfield) stayed below and around the table. Regarding themselves as still "the Body," these gradually composed their mind to the business in hand, viz. these Advices, and finished off the first three before rising. On 10th March, for which a summons was sent to every one of the Brethren who had withdrawn, the 4th Advice was adopted after "some changes" made "both in substance and form." This was the crucial Article, and the one in debating which they "did particularly wish to have had the help" of the seceders. But none came. So, after inserting three new articles before the 5th and 6th, which were taken over word for word, they appended their signatures and went home. Then on the 17th the Advices—with a letter signed by Dr. Oldfield in the name of the rest, and (unsigned) Reasons for not subscribing the Declaration—were posted to Exeter. They are as follows :—

We are clearly of opinion,

I. That there are Errors in Doctrine of that important Nature, as will not only warrant, but even oblige, a Christian Congregation to withdraw from the Minister, or Ministers, that maintain and defend those Doctrines.

II. That the People have a Right to judge for themselves, what those Errors are, and when they are so taught and propagated, as will justify them in with-drawing from such their Ministers. However, we think it necessary, that the Right of thus judging and acting, be maintained and pursued, according to the following Advices :

1. That all Christians, especially Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, should on the one hand carefully avoid giving any just Occasion of Offence ; and on the other, avoid and discountenance all unreasonable jealousy Concerning the Sentiments and Opinions of others, particularly of Ministers; and all rash judging of the Christianity and Sincerity of their Brethren ; and promote to their Power Mutual Forbearance and Brotherly Love, as far as a just Concern for Truth and Holiness will allow.

2. If either Ministers or other Christians, should be charged with not holding the Christian Faith, or propagating Opinions inconsistent with it, we apprehend that no such Accusations should be received by any, to whom Application shall be made for Advice upon such Occasions, unless the Accusation be reduced

to a Certainty, and two or more credible Persons shall declare themselves ready to support and justify it when call'd to it: That by this means all private Insinuations tending to Scandal may be avoided, and Proceedings had in that open and sincere Way which the Gospel prescribes.

3. That when Such an Accusation is brought, the person accused be first privately admonished, before the Matter come under the Examination of any Publick Assembly, or he be obliged to a Publick Defence.

4. If after all, a Publick Hearing be insisted on, we think the Protestant Principle, that *the Bible is the only and the perfect Rule of Faith*, Obliges those who have the Case before them, not to condemn any Man upon the Authority of Humane Decisions, or because he consents not to Humane Forms or Phrases: But then only is he to be Censured, as *not holding the Faith necessary to Salvation*, when it appears that he contradicts, or refuses to own, *the plain and Express Declarations of Holy Scripture*, in what is there made necessary to be believed, and in Matters there solely revealed. And we trust that All will treat the Servants of their Common Lord, as they who Expect the final Decision at his appearing.

5. We further advise, that Catechisms and other Summaries of Christianity, and Expositions of Scripture by wise and learned, tho' fallible Men, should be regarded as great Helps to understand the Mind of God in the Scriptures: And that all be allowed by Common Consent, to Support their own Sense of Scripture upon proper Occasions, with such Reasons as appear to them convincing, provided it be with Sobriety and Charity to those who differ from them. We also desire to secure the Evidence arising from Scripture Consequences; tho' no Man should be charged with holding those Consequences of his Opinion, which he expressly disclaims.

6. That where any, either Ministers or other Christians, think themselves bound in Conscience, to declare against such a Sense of Scripture, as the Body of that Christian Society to which they belong apprehend to be a Truth of great Importance, they should, after the proper Methods have been tried for Mutual Satisfaction, rather quietly with-draw from it, and seek Communion, or Service, in some other Christian Society, than disturb the Peace of that Congregation: And that there be no Censuring of the Person who with-draws, or of the Congregation that receives him.

7. That Ministers, and People, both endeavour to know, maintain and propagate the Truth in Love; insisting most on those things wherein Christians are generally agreed; more sparingly and with great Modesty and Charity, on those in which good Men do, or may, differ.

8. If any Minister or Congregation shall differ as to the Expediency of these Methods, or shall think any other more proper, we hope they will, as intending the same good End, still preserve Charity and Communion with those Ministers and Congregations that shall think fit to pursue these Advices.

Meanwhile, the "Subscribers" of the Declaration were also engaged in framing Advices, but with scarcely any reference to those of the "Gentlemen." These, with 61 signatures, were sent off on 7th April, accompanied by a letter with 10 signatures, and a twofold declaration of faith in the Trinity, with 78 signatures. They are as follows :—

Some of our Number having been apply'd to by Several Worthy *Gentlemen* at *Exon* for *Advice* how to conduct themselves under their unhappy Circumstances: We are clearly of Opinion

That there are Errors in Doctrine of such a Nature, as will not only warrant, but oblige the People to with-draw from those Ministers that maintain or teach them.

And that the People have a Right to judge what those Errors are; and when they are so maintained and taught, as will justify them in with-drawing from such a Ministry. But as the Purity of the Faith, the Peace of the Churches, the Reputation and Usefulness of Ministers, are Matters of very great Weight and Consequence, the utmost Care and Caution ought to be had on both Sides in all Proceedings of such a Nature; and therefore we humbly advise :

1. That when such Differences do arise, the People would consider, tho' they have the Power of judging what Ministers and Doctrines are fit for them to hear, yet they must by no means suffer their Passions, Prejudices or unreasonable Jealousies, to byas their Judgment, but must search the Scriptures, and be determined by them, both as to the Merits of the Cause and the Manner of Proceeding. All Rashness and intemperate Zeal must be suppress'd and everything managed clearly, calmly, in the Fear of God, with Meekness and tender Compassion towards all with whom they are concerned.

2. If the People shall see fit (which in many cases may be expedient) to call for the Advice of Neighbouring Ministers, and others, that are most like to give them good Direction in the Matter before them : those Ministers and others, whose Counsel is desired, should be free, open and faithful in the Advice they give, without being in the least influenced by any personal Respect or Disrespect on either Hand.

3. If any Minister is suspected by his Hearers to hold dangerous Errors, and the People in a serious and respectful Manner desire him to be plain with them, and let them know what his real Belief is, that they may not by mistake either wrong him or their own souls; we think it reasonable he should comply with their Desire, and be ready to give an Account of the Hope that is in him with Meekness and Fear, that the People may have no Ground to charge him with Pride or Prevarication, sacrificing his own Peace and theirs too, to a Stiffness of Humour, or Punctilio of Honour.

4. That the People in this Case should be always ready to receive a reasonable Satisfaction; and if it does appear either that their Ministers never held these Errors of which they were suspected, or have upon maturer Thoughts relinquish'd them and returned to the Truth, the People should regard them with all Respect and Kindness, not suffering any Jealousies to lodge in their Breasts; but should receive them in the Lord, and attend upon their Ministry, and Treat them with as much Affection, Freedom and Confidence, as if no such Suspicions had ever taken place among them.

5. If all Attempts for mutual Satisfaction, Union and Agreement between Ministers and People should prove ineffectual, and either the Minister should judge it his Duty to with-draw from the People, as those that will not endure that which he takes to be sound Doctrine, or the People shall judge it their Duty to with-draw from their Minister, as maintaining what they take to be dangerous Error, they should resolve to part without Wrath and Bitterness according to the Gospel Rule; and how much soever they may judge that Error to be in its Nature of the most dangerous Tendency, yet that neither they nor others should interpret such their Separation, as if thereby they presumed to judge and condemn each other as to their Eternal State: Being persuaded, that tho' our Lord and Saviour is justly and highly offended with the sinful Errors and Divisions of those that call upon His Name, yet he is that Merciful High Priest that knows how to have Compassion on the Ignorant and those that are out of the Way, and to give them Repentance to the Acknowledgment of the Truth.

As we have with very good reason declared the Right of the People to judge what those Doctrines are that will justify them in with-drawing from their Minister, so we take the Freedom to declare it as our Judgment, That the Denying of the true and proper Divinity of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, viz., that they are one God with the Father, is an Error contrary to the Holy Scriptures and common Faith of the Reformed Churches. We who have subscribed these Advices, have also subscribed the first Article of the Church of England, and the Answers to the Fifth and Sixth Questions of the Assemblies Catechism: as what

we believe to be the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

A comparison of the two sets of Advices shows that the Rev. Alexander Gordon is mistaken in saying [1] that "the Advices from both parties were practically identical in terms."

They have, in fact, very little in common.

There is another point in which Mr. Gordon (*mirabile dictu!*) has gone wrong. Speaking of the Advices as drafted by Mr. Barrington-Shute, he says: "They lay down two propositions remarkable as summarizing the most absolute independency, first, there are doctrinal errors which justify a congregation in renouncing a minister; second, each congregation is to decide for itself what these errors are". [2] But really the said draft has nothing which corresponds to these two propositions, nor are they a part of the Advices of either party. They are an introduction, or preamble, to the Advices. And we can trace the first, at least, to its source.

On 22nd November, 1718, "the Committee of 13" (who claimed to act for the Exeter churches) wrote to five leading London ministers, and besought their help against the Arian peril. Three out of their four ministers, they said, were giving it tacit support. One of them (Mr. Peirce) has even "expressly declared for a subordination." What are they to do? The five did not reply till 6th January, 1719, and then to the effect that it was not for them to interfere. The best course for the 13 to take was the usual one, viz., to consult some neighbouring ministers. Accordingly, "they applied themselves to some of the elder ministers to the number of seven," who consented to act. These met in Exeter (19th January, 1719), and—after prolonged debate—came to three Resolutions, of which the first runs thus: "That there are some errors in

[1] *Heads of Unitarian History*, p. 34. [2] Id. p. 34.

doctrine which are a sufficient ground for the people to withdraw from their ministers holding such errors." Here evidently is the original of the "Preamble" as regards its first section. Its second, "That the people have a right to judge for themselves what those errors are," would seem to be an obvious corollary from the first. The second Resolution runs thus: "That the denying the true and proper Divinity of the Son of God, viz., that He is one God with the Father—is an error of that nature, contrary to the Holy Scriptures and common Faith of the Reformed Churches." This —with addition of the words "and the Holy Ghost" —is reproduced at the end of the Subscribers' 5th advice. The third Resolution—embodied substantially in the Subscribers' 3rd and 5th Advices—runs thus: "That when so dangerous an Error is industriously propagated, to the overthrowing of the Faith of Many, we think it the indispensable Duty of the Ministers, who are set for the Defence of the Gospel, earnestly to withstand it; and to give reasonable satisfaction to their People of their Soundness in the Faith. And we likewise recommend to the People, as their Duty, to hold fast the Truth in Love—avoiding Anger, Clamour and evil speaking; and to behave themselves with all sincerity and meekness as becometh Christians."

It appears that the seven ministers, before delivering these resolutions to the Committee of 13, desired a fortnight's delay in order to send them to London (as well as to brethren nearer home) for approval, or comment, by the five. This was done; and one of the "five" "signified by letter their hearty approbation." Thus the three Resolutions became known in London, and had a chance of exerting their influence, *before* "the Gentlemen of London brought in their paper of Advices to the Committee of the Three Denominations."

Fred. I. Powicke.

Congregational Hymnody

IT is not easy to say with confidence what Psalms, Hymns, or Spiritual Songs were sung in Congregational churches before the days of Watts. Metrical Psalters were already numerous, and to some of them were annexed metrical paraphrases of other portions of Scripture. But a really superstitious devotion to the mere letter of the Scripture caused the more poetical versions—those of Sandys and Wither—to be looked on with disfavour. There are indications that some Nonconformists, at least, had no objection to the familiar "Old Version" of Sternhold, Hopkins, etc. (1562); while others preferred the so-called Scottish Psalter (1650), and others the Revised New England Psalm-Book (1650), of which an eleventh edition was printed in London in 1707. Some congregations sung from Patrick's version (1691), which is commendably faithful, but decidedly "wooden"; and there is a tradition that young Watts, by criticizing it, elicited a challenge to "do something better."

Outside the Psalter there was little verse available for the Service of Praise. Hymns had indeed been written by Wither (1621–42), Herbert (1632), Baxter (1681), Barton (1688), Keach (1691), Boyse (1693), Mason and Shepherd (1693), R. Davis (1694), Ken (1695), J. Stennett (1697), and perhaps by others; but with few exceptions they were not well suited for united praise, being for the most part intensely individual or else purely didactic. Of the authors named, only two were Congregationalists —Shepherd and Davis. Some of Shepherd's effusions have real merit, but for various reasons they have become obsolete; and Davis at his best is mere pious doggerel. As to Matthew Henry's "Family Hymns," they are for the most part simply centos from the Metrical Psalms in various versions.

With the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter was usually bound up a small collection of hymns—mostly metrical versions of the Church Canticles, Creed, Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and half a dozen others: and to the New England Psalm-Book metrical versions of all the Scripture Canticles were appended. To what extent these were used—if at all—in Nonconformist congregations, we have no evidence. The first *selection* that we find in use in Congregational churches as supplementary to the Psalms was pub-

lished in 1694; its title is "A Collection of Divine Hymns upon Several Occasions, Suited to our Common Tunes, for the use of devout Christians, in Singing forth the Praises of God." There are 73 hymns by about eight authors, including Baxter, Mason, and Shepherd; some of the hymns are free paraphrases of psalms. The compiler is unknown; but he has selected some hymns of real merit, four or five of which survive in modern hymn-books.

The next selection we meet with is that compiled by Samuel Bury, and entitled "A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs fitted for Morning and Evening Worship in a Private Family." The date is 1707. Many of the pieces are centos, and the source of every fragment is indicated; the authors drawn upon being 18 in number, besides some verses marked "Anonymous" or "Uncertain."

But the first publication of Isaac Watts's "Hymns and Spiritual Songs," in 1707, was the beginning of a new era of Congregational Church-Song. A second and enlarged edition was issued two years later. In 1719 appeared "The Psalms of David, imitated in the language of the New Testament"; and in subsequent editions of the hymns those were omitted which were in fact Metrical Psalms; the blanks being filled up later with hymns taken from other publications of the same author. It was at once recognized that Watts had supplied an urgent want. More than any English writer before him, more even than his junior contemporary Charles Wesley, he was "The Poet of the Sanctuary." Two facts may serve to show how great was the need, and how well it was met. Neither Matt. Henry, nor Bury, nor the "Divine Hymns" reached a third edition; but in the Congregational Library are Watts's own copies of his Psalms and Hymns; the "Psalms," dated 1727, is the 3rd edition; and the "Hymns," dated 1740, is the 14th. And a hundred years after Watts's death, not less than 450 of his compositions continued to be in more or less common use in England or America.

There were conservative people who persisted in the exclusive use of the old psalm-versions, and made bad jokes about "Watts's whims"; but in the Congregational churches they were few, and Julian rather understates the case when he says that "for some years after" 1719 Watts's Psalms and Hymns "constituted the hymn-book of the Congregational body." Watts was, indeed, the founder of a new school of hymnody; but of those who followed in his footsteps during a whole generation not more than three or four were Congregationalists; Doddridge, Gibbons, Hart, and S. Davies (the latter American) almost exhaust the list. And even they were practically unknown as hymn-writers till after 1750, the publication of Doddridge's hymns being posthumous, except a very few that were printed at the end of occasional sermons.

The great outburst of devout song which accompanied and followed the Methodist Revival owed little to Congregationalism; its chief singers were Methodists, both Arminian and Calvinistic, Moravians, Baptists, and Episcopalians of the Evangelical School.

But it came in due time to be recognized that no one man, however gifted, could supply all the needs of a worshipping church. Here and there a minister would compile a small selection of hymns for his own congregation. One of the earliest of these compilers was Robert Seagrave, the author of one magnificent hymn and of much poor stuff. In 1742 he published "Hymns for Christian Worship," containing 32 of his own compositions and 34 from other authors, including Watts and C. Wesley. In 1747 William Cudworth issued "A Collection of Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies"; but this was probably little used beyond a narrow circle. More important was George Whitefield's Collection, of which the first edition appeared in 1753. This contained 210 hymns and 15 doxologies and dismissal verses, chiefly from Watts, the Wesleys, Seagrave, Cennick, and Moravian writers. Whitefield was not a Congregationalist; but "The Tabernacle Connexion" was at least Independent, and most of its congregations in course of time developed into Congregational churches. Much the same may be said of the so-called "Inghamite" societies, except that most of these have long been extinct. For them were produced "A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs," edited by John Edwards, of Leeds, in 1756; and the very remarkable "Kendal Hymn Book" of 1757, of which James Allen was the editor.

An interesting collection of hymns was compiled in 1757 by Charles Bradbury, for a congregation worshipping in Glover's Hall. It contains hymns by Mason, Watts, C. Wesley, from Moravian sources, and others not identified. In 1764 appeared the first of the numerous books compiled for the Countess of Huntingdon's chapels; this was "printed for William Lee, at Lewes." Five or six others, all differing from each other, were used in various chapels of the Connexion before the issue of the "authorized" book of 1780. Noteworthy among these is one by T. Maxfield, "Assistant Chaplain to the Countess," of which a second edition was published in 1768. In this the Wesley hymns are very numerous, while those of Watts are so few that the book might have been used as a Supplement to his "Psalms and Hymns." The Countess's authorized book of 1780 contained hymns by about 20 different authors, including Watts, the Wesleys, Cennick, Newton, Cowper, Toplady, etc. Some hymns by Walter Shirley are notable for a peculiar sweetness. Whether the Countess herself was a contributor is uncertain. How far any of these compilations were used ouside the two "Connexions" it i not easy to say. The probability is that for thirty years after

Watts's death his "Psalms and Hymns" held almost exclusive possession of the field. In 1769 Dr. Thomas Gibbons put forth "Hymns adapted to Divine Worship, partly Collected . . . but principally Composed by T. G." This, though not so designated, was really the first of a long series of Supplements to Watts's Psalms and Hymns. It contained 200 pieces, of which 150 were the editor's own composition, and the remainder by eight various authors, a few being anonymous. By far the most valuable part is that contributed by Samuel Davies, of whose 16 hymns some still remain in use, especially the majestic "Great God of wonders, all Thy ways" etc. But the book was never reprinted. The first book of which we have any knowledge, published *avowedly* as a Supplement to Watts, was that known as "The Hull Supplement." This was compiled by Rev. John Harris, one of the Countess of Huntingdon's preachers, for the use of a single congregation. The date of the first edition we have not been able to ascertain, but it was between 1770 and 1780. It was adopted by other congregations, and after four impressions had been sold off a fifth edition, revised by four Ministers of Hull, was published at York in 1785. This revised edition contains 215 hymns and 6 doxologies. About 50 of the hymns are by Charles Wesley, 20 by B. Fawcett, 14 or 15 by Hart, 10 by Doddridge, and the rest derived from at least 25 other writers, as Mason, Seagrave, Cennick, Olivers, Newton, Cowper, Davies, Hammond, and some whom we are unable to identify. Of the entire number of hymns about one-third continue in more or less common use.

In 1784 George Burder, of Coventry, published "A Collection of Hymns from various authors, intended as a Supplement to Dr. Watts's Hymns and Imitation of the Psalms." It was an immediate success, and in 45 years passed through 28 editions. In the preface the editors remarked on the "*new scheme*" of "a set of men in this day who arrogantly assume the title of *Rational Dissenters*," to whom a considerable part of Watts "must have become useless, not to say obnoxious." Not for these did Burder compile his Supplement, but for such as "are content with the old religion, the religion of the Reformation, the religion of the Bible." The collection included 187 hymns, from about 20 authors. Its tone is moderately Calvinistic, but without that aggressive assertiveness which is displayed in some later compilations.

Probably the most important of all the Supplements was that published by Dr. John Rippon in 1787. The compiler was a Baptist, but the book was used in many pædobaptist congregations —in some within the memory of the present writer. The original edition contained 588 hymns, having as its title "A Selection of Hymns from the best authors, intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns." The hymns are carefully

classified, and the authors' names prefixed where the editor was certain on that point. In editions printed after 1791 the names of (supposed) suitable tunes were also prefixed. Subsequent editions were more and more enlarged, until in 1844 a "Comprehensive Rippon" was printed containing 1,170 hymns. It may be regretted that the pages of Rippon are cumbered with several hymns in which the special dogmas of Calvinism are offensively prominent—such as Toplady's "How happy are we our election who see," and Keen's "In Songs of sublime adoration and praise." On the other hand hymns embodying the Gospel Call are as clear and explicit as any Arminian could desire.

In 1791 William Jay published "A Selection of Hymns of Peculiar Metre, intended for the use of the congregation meeting in Argyle Chapel." It contained 195 hymns and 3 doxologies; a second edition, 1797, was enlarged to 229 hymns and 4 doxologies. The editor frankly avowed that his *sole* motive was "to variegate our singing by some of the good and admired tunes which are only adapted to words of peculiar metre." It is to the compiler's credit that fully one-third of the hymns are still in common use. Of similar character, but inferior literary quality, is the book edited by William Roby, of Manchester, in 1799, which had considerable vogue in Lancashire congregations, and reached a ninth edition in 1830.

Taking leave for the present of Supplements, we come to a series of hymn-books in the compilation of which Watts was regarded simply as one of the many authors to be drawn upon. These were for the most part designed for single congregations, and few, if any of them, reached a second edition. The first was compiled in 1756 by Rev. C. Skelton, of Maid Lane, Southwark, a seceder from the Wesleyan Society. This is commended as being "neither Arminian nor Antinomian"; we should describe its tone as "good sound Evangelical." Another seceder from the Wesleyan community was Rev. Jas. Thwaites, who in 1770 printed for his congregation in Chapel Court, Southwark, a useful selection to which C. Wesley is by far the largest contributor. Another meritorious selection was published in 1776 for the use of a congregation in Jewry Street, Aldgate, by Rev. W. Aldridge, a seceder from the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion : about 20 authors are represented, and the book reached at least a fifth edition. A book of similar character, but far inferior in literary quality, was compiled for the church in Cumberland Street in 1777. Much the same is to be said of the collection edited by Thomas Beck, of Gravesend, in 1782 : it contains a good deal of original matter of no great excellence, and is larger than most of its contemporaries, containing 415 hymns; to which are appended, without numbers, about 50 short hymns for prayer-meetings, single verses, and doxologies. Of similar bulk is the

very curious volume compiled by Thomas Morton in 1786 for the congregation at Holywell Mount. This is really an excellent example of "How *not* to do it." The worthy editor conceived that most hymns were too long; that many contained very bad poetry, or words and phrases hard to be understood, or bare assertions without Scripture proof; and that in all the hymn-books he had met with, the Divinity was in many places unsound, most of the hymns were improper to be sung by carnal people, and many others are not proper to be sung by real believers under particular circumstances. So Morton undertook to correct all these faults, and it is to be hoped the people at Holywell Mount were edified accordingly. Less pretentious, but far more useful—though blemished by much gratuitous hymn-carving—was the collection edited by Rowland Hill in 1787 for use at Surrey Chapel; this reached a seventh edition, with some enlargements, in 1810. Some of the compiler's original hymns are still in occasional use.

The nineteenth century is memorable for the abundant outflow of devout song which, through its entire course, poured from every section of the church, from the Romish Communion to the Society of Friends. In this great chorus Congregationalists were not lacking. Among really great hymn-writers we may count Josiah Conder and George Rawson; in the second rank, an honourable place is due to George Macdonald, Thomas Toke Lynch, Edwin Paxton Hood, George Thomas Coster, and perhaps half a dozen others: while several names are inseparable from single hymns, which are either their sole contributions to the Church's Treasury of Song, or stand forth as sparkling gems amidst much pious commonplace. Among these last—not to mention living writers—are Ann Gilbert, William Bengo Collyer, Thomas Rawson Taylor, Henry Mayo Gunn, Thomas Binney, David Thomas, Charles Edward Mudie, and Jemima Luke. But our present concern is not so much with Hymn Writers as with Hymn Books. And in considering these it will be convenient to take the formation of the Congregational Union as a dividing-point in our review.

In the hymnological collection at the Memorial Hall there are upwards of forty books which may properly be called Congregational, ranging in date from 1801 to 1834. It is out of the question to describe all these books in detail. Rather more than half of these were prepared as Supplements to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns; and some of the said Supplements were extremely bulky.

Of the books in which Watts was regarded merely as one of many contributors, the other authors chiefly drawn on were the Wesleys, Cennick, Doddridge, Hammond, Newton, Cowper, Toplady, Medley, Hart, Ann Steele, the two Stennetts, and

Beddome, with a few indispensable hymns of Addison, Seagrave, Olivers, Robinson, Perronet, and W. Williams. The general tone of the compilations greatly resembled that of the Countess of Huntingdon's collection ; and might fairly be called Calvinistic Methodist. Usually, but not always, hymns with a strong Calvinistic flavour were included : these are most conspicuous in books that were compiled for single congregations, in which such writers as Kent and Hawker were drawn upon. Rowland Hill, Joseph Humphrey, and Thomas Haweis are frequent contributors ; and gradually the poetic genius of James Montgomery and Thomas Kelly found deserved recognition. The collections vary in bulk from a little over 200 hymns to above a thousand ; and in arrangement from promiscuity to elaborate classification. Not many of them deserve particular notice. "A collection of Hymns for the use of the Tabernacles in Scotland," 1800, was probably edited by Revs. John Aikman, of Edinburgh, and by G. Cowie, of Montrose. It reached a 13th edition in 1844, but is of no great merit. With a view to displacing this, Dr. Ralph Wardlaw compiled a selection in 1803, to which he contributed a few hymns, and which reached a 13th edition in 1860. But its popularity was rather due to the compiler's reputation than to its own merits. Another collection, by Greville Ewing, of Glasgow, and George Payne, of Edinburgh, appeared in 1814, and reached an 11th edition in 1846. It was a useful book, carefully arranged ; and notwithstanding many prosy effusions, compares favourably with most of its contemporaries. Turning from Scotland to Ireland, the collection edited by Dr. W. Urwick in 1829 is notable for systematic editorial revision—the first person singular being invariably pluralized—not always to the improvement of the poetry. Another interesting feature of the book is its inclusion of about a dozen hymns by Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna.

Not many of the selections compiled for single congregations in England deserve any lengthened notice. Those of J. Latchford (Bartholomew Close, 1808), Robert Langford (Bethnal Green, 1820), S. B. Haslam (Zion Chapel, Waterloo Road, 1824), J. Pyer (Bristol, 1825), John Rees (Crown Street, Soho, 2nd edition, 1826), and Richard Lukin (Clerkenwell, 1833) are chiefly remarkable for a huge mass of worthless original rhyme. Henry Fowler (Gower Street, 1832) and J. Pyer above named are ruthless *hymn-carvers*, the former having the honesty to say that he had not given authors' names because it is unfair to ascribe to one man work that has been altered by another. The collection of Thomas Young, of Margate, 1819 (5th edition, 1833), was made as a Supplement to the Countess of Huntingdon's book. It has two interesting features : no fewer than 29 of the hymns are by Edward Perronet ; and there is a double index of tunes, corresponding to Rippon's and Walker's

tune-books. Some of the collections contain pieces that are distinctly curious. Pyer's has a few hymns for seamen, one of which begins :—

Yo ho! what ship, lads? ho!
To what port are ye bound?
Come, heave about, or know
You soon will be aground:
The rocks of death are just ahead,
And your lee-shore is strewed with dead.

In a book compiled "for the use of the congregations under the pastoral care of Rev. E. J. Jones" (1812) is the following realistic description of the final conflagration :—

Earth to her centre quakes,
Prodigious mountains fall,
While pond'rous rocks in pieces break,
Tremendous all:
The sea, like blazing oil,
Burns with a dreadful roar,
Its furious flaming billows boil
From shore to shore.

Reverting to the series of Supplements, we begin the century with that compiled in 1801 by Herbert Mends, of Plymouth. It contains a good deal of original matter, some of it disfigured by a tendency to magniloquence but deserving something better than the oblivion into which it has fallen. The 250 hymns are promiscuously arranged. Considerable interest attaches to the "Collection of above 600 Hymns," edited in 1801 by Dr. Edw. Williams and Rev. Jas. Boden, of Sheffield, which passed through several editions. In this the *modern* form of the hymn "Jerusalem, my happy home," first became popular, having previously appeared only in a purely local publication. Dr. E. Williams was in his day a champion of what was called "Moderate Calvinism"; and in his preface he apologized for introducing hymns by C. Wesley, assuring his readers that "nothing is admitted which is prejudicial to the doctrines of sovereign grace." At the end, under the head of "Varieties," are a number of religious poems and songs, including the whole of C. Wesley's great poem on Wrestling Jacob, and a song on "Innocent Diversion," from which these delectable stanzas (2 out of 8) deserve to be quoted :—

The drunkards their shame
At midnight proclaim,
Their sacrifice bring,
And loud to the praise of their master they sing.
The hellish desires
Which Satan inspires
In sonnets they breathe,
And shouting descend to the mansions of death.

The civiler crowd
In theatres proud
Acknowledge his power,
And Satan in nightly assemblies adore:
To the masque and the ball
They fly at his call,
Or in pleasures excel,
And chant in a grove to the harpers of hell.

That there may be no mistake as to the meaning, a footnote is added, "Ranelagh's Gardens, Vauxhall," etc. One is reminded of the Pharisee's thanksgiving "that I am not as other men are"!

"A New Collection of Evangelical Hymns," about 700, by John Dobell, 1806, is chiefly interesting for its record of authors. In this respect, though very faulty, it was the most complete up to that time. About the same time a small collection of 280 hymns was made by Thomas Wilson for the use of Hoxton Academy Chapel. It is of no great merit, but was extensively used, and passed through many editions; that of 1845 was the 21st. But a really important work was "Hymns partly collected and partly Original," by W. B. Collyer, D.D., 1812. It contains 979 hymns, grouped (not always accurately) under the names of about 80 authors. Upwards of 50 are Collyer's own composition, of which however only two or three continue in use. Julian mentions a collection made in 1814 by Dr. T. Raffles; but we have not met with it, and think there is some mistake. About the same time appeared the first edition of "Russell's Supplement," edited by Thomas Clout, who assumed the name of Russell. This passed through many editions—the 24th in 1843, and a "new and revised" edition in 1848; but these editions vary so much from each other as almost to be different collections. A selection by Stephen Gurteen, of Canterbury, claims notice for the fact that in the second edition, 1815, the *Te Deum* was inserted with an apology for its admission; in the fourth edition, 1839, it was omitted. In 1815 William Jay put forth a selection quite different from that of 1791. This is interesting from having appended the words of the choruses in Handel's "Messiah." A book compiled by Dr. Alexander Fletcher in 1822 was specially designed for the large assemblages of young people (not only children) which he was accustomed to gather on Sunday afternoons at Albion Chapel. Its arrangement is unusual, hymns being grouped according to their metre. An undated book of about the same period, compiled by T. S. Brittan, of Swansea, contains—beside a quantity of his own very mediocre verse—five hymns by Elizabeth Rowe, twelve by Ann Steele, and no less than fifteen translated from the French of Mme. Guyon. This proportion is, we think, unique. A book which was, in more senses than one, "of weight in its day," was "A Selection of hymns, compiled and original . . . for the use of the Protestant Dissenting Congregations . . . in Leeds." The

editors were Edward Parsons, Thomas Scales, and Richard Winter Hamilton. The first edition appeared in 1822; the fourth, with a slightly altered title, in 1838. It contains 865 hymns. Its arrangement is unique; to each hymn is prefixed a Scriptural motto, and *these* are placed in canonical order. There is a good deal of hymn-carving; no indications of authorship are given; there is an excessive proportion of merely didactic verse; and much of the original matter is of little value. A smaller and better selection of 316 hymns is that known as "Vint's," or "The Idel Selection." It was compiled by six ministers in and around Bradford, and printed at Idel in 1829. It passed through several editions, and continued to be used in the district for at least 35 years.

Another book of considerable interest is "The Union Collection of Hymns and Sacred Odes, additional to the Psalms and Hymns of Dr. Watts." This was edited by J. Curtis, of Bristol, a member of the choir at Broadmead Chapel. It contains 670 hymns, and a quantity of "Varieties," including odes, religious poems, single verses and fragments, which carry the continuous numbering to 786. There are elaborate Indexes of Verses, Scripture Allusions, and Subjects, occupying 92 closely printed columns. Many unfamiliar names of authors appear, including Sir John Bowring, whose hymns are here first found in a selection designed for use in church. Here, too (probably) was first included India's earliest contribution to the church-song of the West—Krishnu Pal's hymn—

> O thou my soul, forget no more!
> The Friend who all thy misery bore.

It is to be regretted that this book was a predestined failure, owing to its intolerably small type.

Several other Supplements, which had only a limited and local circulation, must be dismissed with a bare mention. Such were Adey's, Ramsgate, 1830; Eagleton's, Huddersfield, 1828; Tim. East's, Birmingham, 1822 (re-edited 1839); Jos. Fletcher, Blackburn, 1815; W. Mason, Cambridge, 1807; J. Matheson, Durham, 2nd ed. 1833; Andrew Reed, London, 1817; Reynolds, Chester, 1814; T. Williams, London, not dated; and no doubt others which we have not seen.

The Congregational Union was formed in 1830, and at the Annual Meeting in May, 1833, it was resolved to attempt the compilation of a Hymn Book, as a Supplement to Watts's Psalms and Hymns, which should be "a symbol of our Congregational unity of fellowship, and a means of promoting it." The business was entrusted to a committee, and by them "the task of collecting and revising the materials was ultimately devolved upon a single editor." No more admirable choice could have been made than that of Josiah Conder, by whom the work was brought

to a successful issue in May, 1836. In seven years 90,000 of the "Congregational Hymn Book" were sold; then a revised edition was put on the market. But it differed little from the original issue, and the few changes were all in the direction of improvement. Five hymns were substituted, seven restored more or less to their original form, and one slightly altered—that was all. The book in its revised form, 1844, consists of 620 hymns, the work of at least 85 authors, beside several anonymous or of doubtful authorship. Of these authors Montgomery contributes 70 hymns, Conder 60, C. Wesley 53, Doddridge 48, Newton 33, Cowper 29, Kelly 25, Lyte 13, Heber and Bathurst 11 each. On the other hand 45 authors only yield one hymn apiece. The literary character of these hymns is, on an average, superior to that of any collection of an earlier date; and it is no mean testimony to their worth that no fewer than 148 of them are included in the "Congregational Church Hymnal" of 1887, and at least a hundred others are still in more or less common use. Two remarkable features of the book are (1) the large number of hymns—50—on Missionary topics, and (2) the presence of several versified Collects, some of which are almost equal in beauty to the Latin prose of their originals. The chief fault of the book is its very complex arrangement, which makes it necessary to use the Index "of Subjects" or "of Occasions" in selecting a hymn on any special topic. But this is a minor blemish, and there is little wonder that "The Congregational Hymn Book" soon supplanted most of the local Supplements, and that very few such publications appeared after 1835.

(*To be continued*)

The Rise and Progress of Congregationalism in Worcestershire

(The substance of a paper read by W. Wimbury, Esq., at Birmingham, on 4th October, 1916)

(*Continued from vol. vii, p.* 153.)

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century bull-baiting and fighting were common sights in the streets of HALES OWEN. The hearts of good men were stirred, and a prayer-meeting was commenced in a barn at the back of a house in Birmingham Street, occupied by Benjamin Hodgkins. This good man allowed his house to be used as a Sunday school, where about forty boys and girls were gathered and taught. On 15th September, 1807, at a meeting presided over by Rev. Jehoiada Brewer, of Birmingham, a Congregational Church was constituted : the 15 members including Mr. Hodgkins and three members of his family. In the same year these earnest people secured a piece of waste land, on which between that date and 1811 a meeting-house was built. It had, at first, no floor but the bare earth, and no pews—only rough benches. Candles that required snuffing during the evening service were the only lights. The opening services were conducted by Revs. John Hudson, of West Bromwich, and J. A. James, of Birmingham. The first settled minister was Rev. James Angear, 1811–16.

The first Sunday school was built soon after the meeting-house ; it was a long, narrow room ; the boys were taught at one end and the girls at the other. An organ was purchased in 1841, when, probably, the end gallery was made : the side galleries were a later addition. A second schoolroom was built in 1844. Quite recently the members have erected on an excellent site, at some distance from the meeting-house, a handsome suite of school buildings, affording every convenience for progressive work on the part of the teachers. The outlook is bright, the people united and enthusiastic, and it is hoped at no very distant time a really suitable church building may be raised on a portion of the site which is already available.

Very early in the nineteenth century a few earnest Christians

were accustomed to meet for worship in a cottage at what was then called Lye Waste. Such success attended the gatherings that increased accommodation was needed, and a disused nail-warehouse was rented. Soon the question of increased accommodation had to be again considered ; and the leaders proposed that, instead of expending their slender means on improving the old warehouse, they should have a building of their own, which should be available for worship and Sunday school. The proposal was warmly supported by neighbouring ministers, and a freehold site was bought in 1811, on which a schoolroom was built. For several years services were continued in this building ; and in 1815, at a meeting presided over by Rev. J. Angear, of Hales Owen, it was resolved to constitute a Christian church on Evangelical principles. The congregations still increased, and a determined effort was made to raise funds for a larger meeting-house. In 1827 the present church building was erected in front of the schoolroom, and within about ten years it had to be enlarged. This was during the pastorate of the first settled minister, Rev. Jas. Eddy (1832–38).

In 1868 Mr. George Wood—whose mother had taken a deep interest in the preliminary efforts which led to the formation of the church—bequeathed £3,000 to the trustees for church work. With this the minister's house and new schoolrooms were built, the church renovated, and a vestry added. Two years later his brother, Thomas Wood, passed away ; he bequeathed a further sum of £1,700 to the church, but through some informality or irregularity the bequest was not available for the purpose intended. Mrs. Wood, however, would not allow the church to suffer ; during her lifetime she paid £20 a year to the treasurer, and invested a sum which would yield a permanent endowment of the same amount. The church has in more recent times done excellent work in the district; and the names of several of its ministers are still held in grateful remembrance.

The Congregational Church at Redditch owes its origin to the dissatisfaction which a wealthy member of the Wesleyan Society felt with the methods of his own church. Thomas Williams had made a fortune of £16,000 by the manufacture of needles ; and, whether he was at heart an Independent, or whether his wealth had made him imperious, he separated from the Methodists, and fitted up one of his workshops as a place of worship. This was in 1822. Williams had his heart in the right place ; he gave a site for a church building, and contributed largely to its erection, which was opened in May, 1827. Six ministers took part in the dedication service, which lasted from 11 in the morning till 3 in the afternoon. The church was definitely organized on 19th June, 1828.

Mr. Williams was a bachelor, and had no near relations. Many

religious institutions, and several ministers, participated in his generous bequests. Amongst the rest, he bequeathed a large house and land to John Angell James, whom he was accustomed to consult before committing himself to any new enterpise. For several years the church at Redditch received an annual grant of £40 from the County Union ; but at a meeting of the Union in 1834 Mr. James announced that such assistance was no longer required. It afterwards transpired that Mr. James had made over by deed of gift the house and grounds bequeathed to him by Mr. Williams, the income of which was to be appropriated towards the support of the minister. This endowment is still enjoyed. The church in its early days had a somewhat chequered career ; but within living memory has enjoyed much spiritual prosperity.

Nonconformity at BROMSGROVE has a history going back to the time of the Restoration. The vicar, Rev. John Spilsbury, M.A., was ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and suffered severe imprisonment for his Nonconformity. As opportunity served he preached in his own house, and in 1693 he built a meeting-house at his own expense. He died on 10th June, 1699, at the age of 71. Twenty years later the meeting-house had a congregation of 400 persons ; but by the middle of the century it was held by Socinians, and the attendance gradually dwindled, until about a dozen met once a month in the vestry to hear a preacher from Birmingham. At length a few individuals, not resident in Bromsgrove, determined to erect a new building. The design was submitted to the associated ministers and delegates of the Worcestershire churches, who warmly espoused the undertaking, offered assistance, and sanctioned the purchase of eligible premises at a cost of £600. When the purchase was completed and a trust formed for the erection of the new church, the sole surviving trustee of the "Upper Meeting," conscious that the Independents were the rightful inheritors of the place erected by John Spilsbury, spontaneously offered to convey the old building to the new trustees. The conveyance was completed, and once again the old gospel was preached within the old walls by a succession of neighbouring ministers with such success that it was resolved to take down the old building and rear upon its site the present edifice.

The new church was dedicated on 22nd August, 1832, Rev. J. A. James and Dr. Leifchild being the preachers. Dr. Redford, of Worcester, preached "to a large and respectable congregation" on the following Sunday. Rev. T. Ashock was the first minister ; he commenced his duties on 6th October, 1833. A church was organized "Upon the principles of Congregational Independency" on 11th December following ; and ever since has borne witness to the truths of Free Church Christianity

both in its services and in the lives of men and women consecrated to the service of the Master.

For some years a congregation at *Wychbold* has been under the superintendence of the minister of Bromsgrove. It was built in 1836, and was at one time occupied by the Free Methodists. The County Union now makes a small sustaining grant; a Sunday School is carried on, and the Sunday services are well attended.

It is a little uncertain when Congregationalism first found a footing at Brierley Hill. It is said that as early as 1820 members of the church at Dudley who had come to reside in that neighbourhood were accustomed to meet for religious conference in the house of one of their number. Early in the thirties a piece of ground was taken on which to build a chapel; but when the walls were half-way up it was found that the title was defective, and the work had to be abandoned. Cottage meetings continued to be held, and at length a building was raised in what came to be called Chapel Street. There, on 30th July, 1840, a Congregational church was constituted of ten members. Mr. John Parsons, a student of Hackney College, undertook the pastorate at the request of the Worcestershire Union, and was ordained on 14th October in the same year. He ministered successfully for ten years, and then removed to Bromsgrove. The church rapidly increased, and became a centre of much active Christian effort. During the two years' vacancy which followed Mr. Parsons's removal overtures were made to, and declined by, a young student of whom the world afterwards heard as R. W. Dale, D.D. About 1870 the building was injured by mining operations; and in 1875 the site of the present church was purchased. The new church was opened in 1882, and the old building temporarily adapted for Sunday schools. Since then excellent Sunday-school buildings have been provided; and the church members are united, energetic, and generous.

In the whole of the picturesque district known as "the Malverns" there were, in 1850, only two Nonconformist Churches, both under Countess of Huntingdon trusts. One was toward the southern limits of Great Malvern, and the other on the eastern fringe of Malvern Link. In the north and west districts Nonconformity was entirely unrepresented. Under these circumstances Rev. Philip Carry Turner, a Wesleyan minister out of charge, commenced services in a cottage at Belvoir Bank, North Malvern. Immediate success followed; and in 1852 North Malvern Chapel was built, and opened by Rev. J. A. James. A Sunday School was established; and the church built, or supplied, mission stations at *Mathan* (1856), *West Malvern* (1860), and *Barnard's Green* (1862). Subsequently the management of three older missions was undertaken, *Stuckley* (originated 1815), *Cradley*[1]

[1] In Herefordshire.—Ed.

(1825), and *Leigh Sinton* (1835). Mr. Turner laboured successfully till 1861 ; then, after brief pastorates of Revs. F. J. Perry (2 years), D. K. Shoebotham—in whose time the church became definitely Congregational—(3 years), and Wm. Thorp (4 years). Rev. Anthony C. Gill took charge in 1870.

Meanwhile Malvern had become popular as a health resort; and it was decided, at the suggestion of Rev. J. G. Rogers, to build a new church in a more central position. The foundation of HOLLY MOUNT Church was laid by Mr. T. R. Hill on 29th September, 1875 ; and it was opened on the corresponding day of the following year, the preachers being Revs. R. W. Dale and J. G. Rogers. The whole cost, which exceeded £6,000, was quickly provided ; and the new church became the chief centre for Free Church visitors during the Malvern season. After a prosperous ministry of seventeen years Mr. Gill removed to Torquay, and was succeeded in 1889 by Rev. Walter Lee. For a considerable time the prosperity of Malvern continued to increase, both as a health resort and as an educational centre, and Holly Mount gained in strength and influence. Then the South African War, and a subsequent local event which temporarily aspersed the reputation of the Malvern water, caused the prosperity of the town to decline, and inevitably all the churches suffered. Still, membership, institutions, and finances at Holly Mount were well maintained until the end of 1909, when Mr. Lee retired after a fruitful pastorate of nearly twenty-one years. After this the missions at Barnard's Green and Mathan were discontinued, and the Leigh Sinton group—which were originally managed by the Countess of Huntingdon churches—were restored to their control. In 1911 Rev. E. M. Poole entered on the pastorate ; and there are indications that the church is sharing in the present revival of the town's prosperity.

One of the most interesting—one may say inspiring—churches in the county is that at NETHERTON. In January or February 1853 a meeting was held for prayer in a cottage : these meetings were continued, and from September they were regularly conducted by lay preachers from Dudley. Soon additional room was needed ; a Sunday School was started. Two cottages were taken on lease, and converted into a homely meeting-house, which was opened in December 1856; and on 11th July, 1858, a Congregational Church was organized. Steady progress was made ; and as the expiring of the lease drew nigh steps were taken toward a permanent building. A fairly comfortable chapel was opened on 3rd March, 1872, and the people settled down to steady work. School and congregation grew, and numerous additions were made to the church-roll. But the whole of the district is honeycombed with coal-mines ; the subterranean workings caused the surface of the land continually to give way, and very soon the

chapel was pulled and twisted in all directions, and large fissures were made in the walls. Abandonment was inevitable, and in 1887 a new church was erected at a cost of over £3,000. It was hoped that the promoters had at length secured a site from which the iron ore had been extracted, and where the mineral rights had been reserved, so that there should be no fear of disaster from that quarter in the future. But that has proved not to be the case, for a few years ago the church buildings began to show signs of trouble in the foundations ; and the question has once more to be faced of either restoring at considerable cost or erecting a new church on a new site. That the members have been able to overcome so many subterranean and financial difficulties is simply marvellous, and bears testimony to the unity and self-sacrificing spirit that prevails among the people. They have now to grapple with new difficulties, but they are strong and resolute, fired with an enthusiasm which only comes from the indwelling of the Spirit. It is not detracting from their almost heroic labours to add that much of the credit of what has been done was due to the consecrated endeavour of the late Mr. Henry Lucas, who for nearly forty years was "lay pastor" of the church, and whose published narrative of its difficulties and triumphs (Kidderminster, 1904), deserves a permanent place in the archives of the Free Churches.

In 1862 several members of the Old Meeting (now represented by Baxter Church), Kidderminster, were residing at STOURPORT ; and being by reason of distance debarred from sharing the full privileges of church membership, they met for inspiration and fellowship in a cottage, and afterwards carried on evangelistic work in the Temperance Room at the Woolpack Inn, the Temperance Hall, and the Town Hall. At last they found a fixed abode in a handsome church built in 1870, and in the main paid for by Baxter Church, Kidderminster. It serves as an indication of the circumstances under which the church came into being that the then vicar of Milton made a journey to London in order to frustrate the desire of Messrs. Naylor and Banks to purchase the site in Milton Street on which the church was built.

The church became autonomous in 1890, but has not yet become financially independent. However, the counsel and help of the Baxter fellowship has enabled it, if not to flourish, at least to thrive. Sunday-school work was commenced in 1867 ; in 1898 cramped conditions rendered extension necessary, and the best had to be made of a restricted site, as additional ground at the rear of the church could not then be purchased. In 1915 this difficulty was overcome, and structural alterations and additions were made "in commemoration of fifty years of blessing." The Baptist church in Stourport originated in the secession of some members who held Baptist opinions in 1874.

At Quarry Bank, near Brierley Hill, a mission was commenced in 1884 under the banner of the Gospel Temperance movement, and a church was formed which was received into the Congregational Union about seventeen years ago. Here the triumph of the Cross has been conspicuous. The whole environment of the people has been changed. Drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, and frequent offenders against the civil laws of the land have been laid hold of and completely reformed. Not only have there been evidences of a decided change of heart, but from poverty and squalor many have been raised to social respectability, and are working enthusiastically for the moral and spiritual reformation of their fellows.

The district of Stamber Mill was formerly spoken of as "No man's land"; it was on the border-line of two counties, and was claimed by four or five parishes. Seventy years ago an evangelistic enterprise was undertaken by Jeremiah Skidmore and Bennett Gibson. They gathered a Sunday School, the present building was erected, and for some years a splendid Home Missionary work was carried on. But with the death and removal of earnest workers the interest declined, and the building was sold. About 1894 the County Union, acting mainly at the instance of Mr. H. Lucas, of Netherton, secured the property, and tried with varying success to recover lost ground. But notwithstanding self-sacrificing labours the time for complete resuscitation had not yet arrived. But eight years ago Mr. W. Green was appointed "Superintendent and Lay Pastor," and a great change has been effected, while the neighbourhood has been greatly blessed. Men's and Women's Adult Schools and a vigorous Sunday School have been established, provident and other useful clubs are held; the Old Tavern has been purchased and converted into an Institute with good results; and the Sunday evening services are crowded.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the population of Blackheath, in the parish of Rowley Regis, increased rapidly. There were Free Churches in the district, but Congregationalism was not represented. The needs of the district were brought before the executive of the Worcestershire Union by Revs. C. T. Plank and T. G. Vinson, pastors of the churches at Hales Owen and Lye; and it was resolved to inaugurate the New Century with a Forward Movement at Blackheath. Ground was secured on which a suitable building was reared; this was opened in October, 1900, and an evangelist—Mr. French—was put in charge of the station, his stipend being provided by the Worcestershire and Staffordshire Unions in equal proportions. Excellent pioneer work was done in preaching, teaching, and visiting. When Mr. French left Rev. D. J. Price was engaged as pastor by the County Union; and on 20th October,

1901, a church of 72 members was constituted. In 1906 Mr. Price was succeeded by Rev. W. J. Harries. Congregation and Sunday School continued to prosper; but it became evident that if Congregationalism was to make headway further accommodation must be provided. The original plans were modified on Institutional lines, and above £1,200 were expended in buildings—in addition to nearly £900 in the initial effort—towards which many of the county churches contributed liberally; while the work called forth much local enthusiasm and personal consecration. Altogether there is reason for much satisfaction at the growth of a church which "was started, fostered, and nourished by the Union."

[The churches at *Langley Green* (1790) and *Oldbury* (1843), though geographically in Worcestershire, are connected with the Staffordshire Union; and that of *Yardley* (1882) with that of Warwickshire.]

John Alden, of the "Mayflower"

THE *Mayflower* sailed from London near the end of July, 1620. There were on board some merchants' assistants; a few London Separatists, who were about to join the Puritan exiles for the first time; John Carver, Christopher Martin, and James Cushman, the three who had been sent over from Leyden to London to make all arrangements for the journey to America; and, in addition to the crew, John Alden, the ship's cooper.

When the party from Leyden on board the *Speedwell* arrived at Southampton, there was the *Mayflower* awaiting them, riding at anchor "off the north end of the West Quay," and it would be on board the *Mayflower*, in the Southampton waters, that William Bradford, the historian of the party, first met the sturdy stripling, John Alden, then about twenty-one years old.

Some have jumped to the conclusion that because the meeting took place at Southampton, John Alden hailed from that neighbourhood. Southampton was but a small port in those days, and the ship's cooper an important personage, whose engagement would certainly not be left till the last day. It would be in London that John Alden would be "booked," sailing with the ship from the commencement of her journey, doubtless secured by Christopher Martin, who had such a large share in seeing to the details for the voyage.

It will be a surprise to some to know that Christopher Martin had been a member of John Robinson's church at Leyden, where Carver, his companion, had been deacon. Martin came from Billericay, Essex, William Bradford supplying that information in his journal. From the Chronicles of the Billericay Congregational Church, I copied this extract: "Christopher Martin was summoned before the Archidiaconal Court for allowing his son to answer that his father gave him his name. He and others were officially monished and commanded to appear again in a month to be examined further. Three of these confessors after earned for themselves a good name among the fathers of New England. Prower and the two Martins fled to Leyden where the elder Martin became a member of John Robinson's church and went in the *Mayflower* in 1620. He and his son died in New England."

William Bradford, in speaking of Martin, added the remark that others of their number came from "those parts." What more natural, then, to suppose that Martin engaged a cooper of whose family he had some knowledge? I should not even be surprised to find some relationship between them. The more the story is known of the *Mayflower* party, and the other contingents that followed, the more it will be found how closely connected they were. The Cooks, Saltonstalls, Rogers,

Fullers, Carvers, Whites, Vassalls, Cottons, Winthrops, Brights, Eliotts, are but a few instances.

Some say the name Alden is found in Saxon Chronicles, others that it is of Norwegian origin, and that through religious persecution a family of that name escaped to England, settling in one of the eastern counties.

Having occasion to look through the lists of those who paid the Hearth Tax in Raleigh, Essex, in the year 1666, I found the name "John Alden" very clearly written. To make it quite certain, I asked the superintendent of the office. "John Alden" was his reply, "without a doubt." Raleigh is seven miles from Billericay, on the same London high-road to Leigh, then a considerable port.

It is quite possible John of the Hearth Tax, and John of the *Mayflower* were cousins or uncle and nephew. I have had a facsimile sent me of the latter's signature which is in Plymouth Hall, New England. It is so similar to the name in the tax list, that the John of the *Mayflower* and the old tax-gatherer might well have had the same schoolmaster.

John of the Hearth Tax paid on two hearths, costing him two shillings and sixpence for each, annually. This "find" led me to search the lists of Subsidy Taxpayers during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Twice I thought I could trace the name, but the parchments are so mutiliated and discoloured, having suffered so much in the Great Fire, it is difficult to be quite certain. This Subsidy Tax, I understand, did not include artisans, so that the omission of the name would not necessarily prove non-residence. Whatever station in life the parents of John Alden were in, they managed to give their son a good education.

There is record in the little town of Raleigh that a hundred and fifty years ago there lived in one of the oldest houses a cooper who did a thriving business. How long before no one knows. When passing the

door I have often wondered if John Alden of the *Mayflower* learnt his trade there, and whether it was in the old church close by where James Eliot was rector, relative of the famous missionary, John Eliot, the sweet voice of the New England choirmaster was first heard!

When nine years later leaders from this same district landed in New England, did John Alden give them an extra grip of the hand, seeing they came from the same romantic corner of the old Homeland as he had himself?

The parish registers of the district might perhaps throw some light on the subject, but these are not always obtainable. In some there are gaps of many years: in one parish near by the mice ate them, in another the churchwarden was known to use the leaves in wrapping up the goods in his grocery store. It must also be remembered that very often parents objected to the registration of their children. We need another Old Mortality to rise up, whose work it shall be to trace the birth as well as the death of the brave.

CHARLOTTE SKINNER.

"Freedom after Ejection"

IN *C.H.S. Transactions*, vol. v, p. 326, and vol. vi, p. 1, mention was made of a document which Dr. J. P. Longstaff discovered in 1912 among the archives of the English Presbyterian Board, which seems to have been forgotten by its custodians, and which has certainly never been used by any historian of Nonconformity. It may be described as A Survey of the Dissenting Interest, made in the years 1691–2 for the purposes of that Benevolent Fund which was constituted soon after the "Happy Union" of the

Presbyterian and Independent Ministers of London in 1690. It contains a list of ministers, arranged by counties; distinguishing (1) pastors who have adequate maintenance; (2) pastors who need assistance; (3) ministers not in charge; (4) persons qualified for the ministry but not settled; (5) persons qualifying (i.e. students); (6) places where there have formerly been congregations, or where there is fair prospect that congregations may be raised. The London pastors are for the most part not included in the Survey. There is a large amount of incidental information about the circumstances of Ejected Ministers, stipends, numbers in congregations, etc.; and the Survey fills a serious blank in our Original Records, going far to bridge over the interval between the Licence Documents of 1672 and the "Evans" List of 1716 or 1717.

It was at first thought that the "Survey" might be printed in our *Transactions*, and it was partly transcribed with that intent. But the Trustees of the Presbyterian Fund wisely decided that it should appear as a separate publication, with such annotations as would greatly increase its utility. The task of editorship was undertaken by Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., and the fruit of his labours at length appears in a handsome 4to volume issued from the Manchester University Press. The 99 pages of the MS. are reproduced in 150 pages of the printed volume, the utmost care being taken to represent all cancellations, interlineations, etc.; while 240 pages are devoted to notes and comments, which include a condensed biography of almost every person mentioned in the MS. These notes are evidently the fruit of an enormous amount of labour, and add greatly to the value of the publication. The light thus cast on a somewhat obscure chapter of Church History places all serious students of the subject under a deep obligation alike to the discoverer of the MS., the Presbyterian Trustees, and the Editor.

A few facts extracted from the MS. will be of interest to our readers. We find some ministers in easy circumstances, not dependents on their hearers. T. Dawson, of Abingdon, and Mr. Swinhoe, of Prince's Risborough, lived on their own estate; W. Rawlinson at Brackstead had "a good estate of his own, and supported divers meetings at his own charge"; S. Atkinson, of Hescott, "refuseth to have anything from his people; taketh his share when any comes from London; hath real estate near £20 per an." Of ministers who have "a competent supply," from their congregations, Mr. Pike, of Burton-on-Trent, receives £50 per an. T. Taylor, of Cambridge, and Mr. Rand, of Baddow, £40 each; S. Smith, of Eton, and Mr. Flemming, of Soham, £30; S. Clark, of Aylesbury, and Oliver Heywood, of Northowran, £20. Of course the purchasing power of money was then much greater than in more recent times. On the other hand, the poverty —or frugality—of some congregations was remarkable. Mr. Giles Firmin, of Ridgewell, has "little of his own, gets somewhat by practise of physic, has subscriptions per an. £12." At Stroud "the people poor, not able to raise above £10 per an." At Culcheth 100 or 150 hearers raised for Thos. Risley £10 per an. Robert Ekyns has been at Oakham for 17 years, "has a wife and five children, a numerous auditory, yet are able to raise not above 5 or 6 pounds per an. for his maintenance."

In several places the services of ministers were paid for by the week, or by the sermon. Ten shillings was a common fee for a Sunday's services, and 8s., 7s., or even 5s. for a week-day lecture. There are numerous cases of aged ministers, several ejected in 1662, who, being disabled by blindness or other infirmity, were unable to preach, and were sorely in need of charitable assistance. The names are given of about 30 ministers in London and 50 in the country who were not in settled pastorates; of the latter, above 30

were itinerants. There are also between 60 and 70 "qualifying for the ministry"; some students in the various small academies that were springing up, and some, apparently, lay preachers. Here and there we have suggestions of help to be given to these aspirants in the pursuit of their studies.

It is to be remembered that the inquiries made were into the circumstances of ministers rather than of churches. Little is therefore to be gathered as to the inner life of the latter, and it is often left doubtful whether an organized church existed. The chief concern was for the preaching of the gospel, the need for this is illustrated by the case of Rayleigh, Essex: "a small market town, a known Papist in the church, seven adjacent parishes without preaching. One Mrs. English offers to give any minister 12 months boarding." At Leigh in Lancashire, again, "Thos. Collins, a young man, is lately come, yet his stay must be short without some aid; and if this meeting fails the country for 9 or 10 miles long and 5 or 6 miles broad is utterly destitute." "At Ruthin in Denbighshire is a Lecture once a month supplied by Mr. James Owen; there is a serious people; they call for the Lord's Supper, but it is not yet administered for want of a minister."

As to the meeting-places occupied by dissenters, the information supplied is fragmentary, but interesting. A few ministers still preach in their own houses, some in schoolrooms and barns—duly registered according to the Toleration Act. Here and there a meeting-house is mentioned; and there are a few exceptional cases in which parochial chapels are in the hands of dissenters, e.g. Moseley and Oldbury. Still more remarkable is the case of Wombridge, where "the meeting is kept in the parish church . . . a peculiar, which the bishop has no power to visit. No ministers reside within seven miles of the place."

At least 130 places are named where congregations are destitute of a regular ministry, or "where there may

be opportunity of religious assemblies"; as well as about twenty-five where congregations formerly existed but had become extinct. Of some of these interesting accounts are given, notably of Lutterworth, where one Mr. Lee had preached for a little time in an old barn. His health failing, the meeting was variously supplied. At length one Peter Dowley, who lived twenty miles off, visited them, and continued to do so occasionally for two years. "He found a very great blessing on his ministry," and "is now desirous to fix among them. That which weighed most with him was the remembrance of Mr. John Wickliffe being minister of that place." Mr. Dowley settled there, and held the pastorate for many years, on a stipend which, with assistance from the Fund, amounted to £28 per an.

Among congregations "now discontinued" we find the name of "Thorpe Waterfield"—undoubtedly Thorpe Waterville in the parish of Achurch. This entry strongly corroborates the local tradition mentioned in *Transactions*, vol. ii, p. 244, that Robert Browne gathered a congregation in the "Chapel House," which he built in 1618 (see illustrations in vol. iii, pp. 308 and 312). It is interesting to read that one Thomas Loftus, a resident in that village, was "qualifying for the ministry," but "wants education"; and that this was one of eight places in Northants where "if they had ministers, there is a likelyhood of great Good."

Of the "Proposals" sent up from various counties not much is to be said. One from Yorkshire, however, is characteristic of the period. It is that "an annual stipend might be set apart with respect to the places that want it . . . or if could prevail wth the K. & Q. that any p^{t} of the Pention Settled by Q. E. on Itenerant Preachers in ye Northern Counties might be Imployed this Way."

The title of Mr. Gordon's volume is *Freedom after Ejection*; the price, 15s. We heartily commend it to all students of our Free Church History.

State Prayers—The Niblock Collection

THE Congregational Library possesses a Collection of above 200 Forms of Prayer, issued by authority for use on various public occasions between 1660 and 1860, with a few of earlier and later date. This Collection was made by Rev. J. W. Niblock, D.D., F.S.A., during a period of thirty years. It originally consisted of 141 printed items and 50 in MS., the latter being carefully copied from rare originals. Unfortunately, six of the MSS. and two printed documents were lost before the Collection was acquired by the Congregational Library. A few forms, chiefly Victorian, have been added subsequently.

Many of these State Prayers are very uninteresting, being slight modifications of the order prescribed by the Act of Uniformity, with special Psalms and Scripture Readings, more or less appropriate, and Collects, Responsories, etc., judiciously vague, so as to be capable of a very elastic "intention." But some, on the other hand, are of great historic interest; and of these we think a selection may be acceptable to our readers.

(I) The earliest-dated document is *A Form of Penance and Reconciliation of a Renegade or Apostate from the Christian Religion to Turcism* : 1637. [At this time it was not uncommon for English seamen to be taken captive by Barbary Corsairs; and some obtained alleviation of their bondage by "turning Turk," i.e. professing to become Mohammedans. A case of reconciliation of such a renegade occurred at Minehead, Somerset, on 16th March, 1627. The MS. copy is difficult to read, and two or three words may not be correctly reproduced.]

"O Lord God of Heaven and Earth, be merciful to me a most wretched sinner: (*this said, let him smite his breast three times* :) I confess, O Lord, I have justly deserved to be utterly renounced by Thee, because I have yielded to renounce my Saviour, and that holy profession which I had formerly made of His Name when I was received into Thy church. O Lord, forgive me this heinous and horrible sin, with all other my grievous sins against Thee; and let me, upon Thy gracious pardon and infinite mercy, be restored to the rights and benefits of this blessed sacrament (?) which I have so wickedly abjured;

and be received, though most unworthy, to Thy gracious favour, and the communion of Thy faithful people, even for Thy great mercy's sake, in Jesus Christ, my blessed Lord and Saviour."

After a confession addressed to the congregation he shall say "Our Father," etc. Then let the priest say :—

"O most merciful God, who according to the multitude of Thy mercies dost so put away, etc. (*as in the Visitation of the Sick*) : preserve and continue him in the unity of the church, consider his contrition, and accept his humiliation ; and, forasmuch as he puts his full trust only in Thy mercy, impute not to him his former abrogation (?) of Thee, but receive him into Thy favour, through the merits of Thy blessed Son Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen."

When he receives the Holy Communion, let him make a solemn oblation, according to his ability, after the order set down in the Service book.

(II) *A Forme of Common Prayer to be used upon the eighth of July, on which day a Fast is appointed by his Majesties Proclamation For the averting of the Plague, and other Judgements of God from this Kingdome* 1640. [The entire Morning and Evening Service is printed as in the Prayer Book, with certain adaptations and additions. A compiled Canticle takes the place of *Venite* ; the Psalms are 6, 32, 38, 39, 51, 90, 91, 102, 130, 143, such as were omitted in the morning to be read in the evening ; Scripture Lessons, 1st, 1 Kings 8 c., 2 Sam. 24 c., Joel 2, or Jonah 3 ; 2nd, Matt. 6, 8, or 9, Luke 13, at the minister's discretion. The special Collects are as follows :—]

i. "O most merciful and gracious Lord, we wretched and miserable sinners humbly beseech Thee in mercy and compassion to behold our great afflictions ; for thy wrath is gone out, and thine indignation is kindled against us. We confess, O Lord, that thy Judgements are just, for we have multiplied our transgressions like the sand of the sea, and the cry of them hath been so great that it hath pierced the heavens, and called for vengeance against us. But we beseech Thee, O Lord, forget not thou to be gracious, and shut not up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure ; turn thee again, and be merciful unto thy servants. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy Name ; O deliver us, and be merciful unto our sins for thy Name's sake : Take thy Plague, and all other Judgements from us, that we be not consumed by the means of thy heavy hand upon our sins. O satisfie us with thy mercy, and that soon ; so shall we that be thy people, and sheep of thy pasture, give thee thanks for ever, and will alwayes be shewing forth thy praise from generation to generation. Grant this, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, for Jesus Christ his sake our onely Saviour and Redeemer. Amen."

ii. [*After the Litany*] "O Eternal God and most gracious Father,

we confess that by our manifold transgressions we have deserved whatever thy Law hath threatened against sinners; Our contempt of thy Divine Service is great, and we hear thy Word, but obey it not; Our charity to our neighbour is cold, and our disobedience aboundeth. Religion is with many of us, as in too many places besides, made but a pretence for other ends than thy service; and there hath been little or no care among us to keep Truth, and Peace together, for the preserving of both Church, and State. Forgive us O Lord, forgive us these and all other our grievous sins. Send us light in our understandings, readiness and obedience in our wits, discretion in our words and actions, true, serious, and loyall indeavours for the peace and prosperitie of our Jerusalem, the Unitie and Glory of this Church, and State, that we may love it, and prosper in it, that we may be guided by thy Grace in this life, and received to thy Glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

iii. "Almighty and most merciful Father, who for our many and grievous sinnes (those especially which we have committed since our last solemn humiliation before thee) might most justly have cut us off, but in the multitude of thy mercies hast hitherto spared us; Accept, we most heartily beseech thee, our unfeigned sorrow for all our former transgressions, and grant that we may never so presume of thy mercy, as to despise the riches of thy goodnesse, but that thy forbearance, and longsuffering may lead us to repentance, and amendment of our sinful lives, to thy honour and glory, and our eternal salvation at the last day through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

[*The Homily "Of Repentance" is printed at the end.*]

(III) [*A Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving, to be used of all the King's Majesties Loving Subjects the 28th of June* 1660, *for His Majesties Happy Return to His Kingdom. Set forth by Authority* 1660.

Proper Psalms—20, 21, 85, 118.

First Lesson—2 Chronicles 1 c.

Second Lesson—Romans 13 c.

Collect.—O Lord God, thou who hast dealt exceeding graciouslie with this our sinful land, who by a manner, which passes all humane understanding and skil hast been pleased to grant us so suddain and miraculous a producing of Light out of Darknesse: We therefore thy most unworthy Creatures, finding ourselves so undeservedlie and yet so infinitelie blessed, in the safe return of our dread Sovereign Lord thy Servant King Charles, are at this time here most humbly gathered together, before Heaven and before Thee, disclaiming all Interest of us sinful men therein; and with joyful and faithful hearts, through the Spirit of thy Grace, blessing thy holy name alone, for this thy unspeakable Goodnesse; and with all sinceritie, and prostration of our Spirits offering up these our

Vows, and Sacrifices of true Thanksgiving unto thy Divine Majestie. We fall down before the Throne of grace, and most humbly beseech the Lord of Heaven and Earth, in the infinite merits of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of the Father, God and man, to accept now from us, this most unworthy Oblation of ourselves; who here now do vow, without all dissimulation or any disloyal affections, all holy, and free obedience, in thought, word, and deed; First unto thee, O Lord, our Creator and Redeemer; and next, under thee, in thee, and for thee, through thy blessed assistance, unto our Soveraign Lord the King, whom thou hast so graciously restored unto us. We therefore, O Lord, unfeignedly now promise for ever hereafter all Loialtie, and unsteined (*sic*) Allegiance unto him, his Heirs and Successors; And we beseech the Majestie of Heaven, that thou wouldst daily, O Lord, more and more endue his Royal Heart with Holinesse, and thy Heavenlie grace, and begirt his Sacred Person with the increase of all Honour, Health, and Happinesse in this World; and at last, crown him with immortality and glory in the world to come; and that, for Jesus Christ his sake, our onely blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

After the Litany.—O Lord God and most mercifull Father, who of thine especial grace and favour, hast placed thy servant King CHARLES, our Soveraign, in the royal Throne of this kingdome, thereby assuring us of the continuance of thy Gospel and sacred truth amongst us, to the great joy and comfort of our hearts: We thine unworthy servants, here assembled together in memorie of this thy mercy, most humbly beseech thy Fatherly goodness, to grant us grace, that we may in word, deed, and heart shew ourselves alwayes thankfull unto thee for the same; and that his Majestie through thy grace may in all honour, vertue, and godliness continue his glorious reign over us many and many yeers yet to come, and we dutifully obey him as faithfull and loyall Subjects: that so we may long enjoy him with the continuance of thy great blessings which by him thou hast powred upon us, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

In the Communion Service.—O most gracious God, and merciful Father, we thine unworthy servants acknowledge it thy special care and fatherly providence over us, that it hath pleased thee, for the good of thy Church, and glory of this land, to place thy servant King Charles our Soveraign Lord in the Royal seat of this Kingdom, giving us by him and with him a happy restoring of thy sacred truth and Gospel, and of our former peace and prosperitie, together with a great increase of honour, power, and dignity: we beseech thee to grant unto him the defence of thy salvation, and to shew forth thy holy kindness and mercy, both to his Majesty thine Anointed, and to thy servants Mary the Queen mother, the illustrious James Duke of Yorke, with the rest of the Royal seed for

evermore: and to stirre up in our hearts a dutiful and Loyal obedience unto this thy ordinance, and a religious and holy thankfulnesse unto thee for these thy great mercies, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[*There is another collect in the same strain, which need not be reproduced.*]

Brief Historical Sketch of the Church of Christ Meeting in Helen's Lane, Colchester.

(*By Rev. Joseph Herrick, pastor there* 1814-65.)

THE congregation of Protestant Dissenters (Independents) assembling in Helen's Lane, anciently called in books and writings Bucklersbury Lane, or Bucklersbury, is the oldest of all the Dissenting congregations in the town;[1] though it does not rank so high in antiquity as some few others in different parts of the kingdom. It was originated by the Act of Uniformity which took place in 1662 on Bartholomew's Day, and silenced 2,257 ministers of religion; among which were two very excellent men in Colchester, viz., Rev. Owen Stockton, M.A., minister of St. James's Church, member of Christ's College, Cambridge, and afterwards Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. He was a man of great worth; as was also his colleague, Rev. Edmund[2] Warren, of St. Peter's, whom Dr. Calamy calls "a pious and learned divine, a man of singular abilities, good education, and great humility."

Of the former gentleman, Owen Stockton, there is a large memoir in "Clark's Lives," which shows him to have been a great and good man. Of the latter, Ed. Warren, I can add nothing to Calamy's account, but this short passage from the church-book: "He practised physic, continuing his ministrations to the great benefit and satisfaction of many; and died April 20th, 1690"; so that he survived his co-pastor 10 years. Owen Stockton died 10th September, 1680, in the 51st year of his age.[3]

[1] Questioned; Lion Walk *claims* to date from about 1640.

[2] So MS.: but Calamy and Licence Documents say Edward.

[3] Under the Indulgence, 1672, Stockton was licensed to preach in a house called Greyfriars, Ipswich, on 16th April; in the house of Robt. Howlett in St. Martin's Lane, Colchester, on 22nd May; and in John Smith's house at Hadleigh on 22nd July. Warren was licensed to preach in his own house at Colchester on 17th April.

As Mr. Stockton divided his labours between the Dissenters of Colchester and Ipswich, Mr. Warren seems to have followed his profession as a medical man, and filled the pulpit in the intervals of Mr. Stockton's absence, till the latter died, from which time he appears to have been sole pastor; as no document is left of any other.[1] Mr. Stockton, it appears, lived and preached to this congregation about eighteen years after his ejection, and Mr. Warren about twenty-eight.

Till his decease, the congregation assembled for worship in a large room in the Castle;[2] but the place was too strait for them, and therefore with a new pastor a new place of worship was determined upon; and the following year, 1691, Mr. Daniel Gilson succeeded to the pastoral office. A piece of ground was purchased in Bucklersbury Lane—now Helen's Lane—and a large commodious building erected for the better accommodation of the assembly.

Rev. Daniel Gilson was the son of Rev. Thomas Gilson, M.A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and afterwards of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. At the general ejection he was at Little Baddow, in this county; from which place he removed to London, and was pastor of a Dissenting congregation at Radcliff, where he died, much lamented, in 1680. His son, Daniel Gilson, was by no means discouraged by the difficulties his father had experienced, and which still attended Nonconformity; but, like him and many other eminent worthies, he preferred a good conscience to a good living; and therefore, being inclined to engage in the work of the ministry, and not being able to see how a good conscience could be maintained in a worldly establishment, under a notoriously corrupt hierarchy, he readily, manfully, and conscientiously determined (though the times were very trying to God's faithful servants) to take his lot with the Dissenters. Among them he officiated as circumstances might direct during the younger part of his time, till the happy and glorious Revolution took place, when the late King William of immortal memory, out of a proper regard for the honour of God and the credit of religion (which will always suffer by a bigoted and persecuting zeal), gave liberty to scrupulous consciences to worship God in that way which they preferred, the Scripture dictated, and the primitive Christians evidently practised.

About this time, and under these happy auspices, Mr. Gilson began his ministry in Colchester, when he was about 35 years of age. His labours appear to have been very acceptable and

[1] This is an error: William Folkes, ejected from All Saints, Sudbury, succeeded Stockton, but died before Warren.

[2] Probably the Chapel of the Castle, which was extra parochial, and the private property of James Northfolk, Esq. In 1683 his son sold it to John Wheeley, who began to demolish it, but found the building too solid. It is likely, however, that the havoc he wrought made the chapel untenable.

useful, as he seems to have had a large number of communicants in the church and subscribers to his support.[1] He was a man of a peaceable disposition; his integrity and uprightness caused him to be respected by many. An earnest and sincere desire of promoting the divine glory, and furthering the salvation of souls, breathed forth in all his sermons; but notwithstanding this he could not escape the common scourge of good men—reproaches and censures of a party spirit. But it was with him as with many others, truth and goodness were concealed for a while under the clouds of prejudice. But soon these clouds were dispelled by the light which shone from himself, for he shone as a light in the world; and he lived to see his character cleared, and himself acknowledged not only a man of talent, but a pious and orthodox preacher. "His moral character (says one who knew him well) was unblemished, his greatest enemies themselves being judges; and in the course of nearly forty years as minister of this people, he behaved in such a manner as that, now he is dead, the world may and do say 'he was a truly upright, faithful, and peaceable man.' So much was his heart set upon his Master's work that he went through the greatest difficulties in the discharge of his duty. He preached when in danger of imprisonment, and has often ascended the pulpit when his friends thought him, through bodily weakness, unable to bear up. But God supported and strengthened him to perform the duties in which he delighted to an advanced age. . . ." He died on 8th February, 1728, aged 71 years; having ministered to this church and congregation about 37 years.

Mr. Gilson was succeeded by Mr. John Tren, who for some years had been his assistant, and who preached his funeral sermon, from which the above extracts are taken.

In his (Mr. Tren's) time, 23rd June, 1734, the plan was first adopted which with some few interruptions has been continued until now, of having a committee separate from the deacons—though they may be upon it—for managing the seats and other secular concerns. There was nearly the same number then as now, the following persons being chosen for this purpose: Alderman Johnson, Alderman Daniell, Messrs. Jones, Shearn, Birgis, Streeton, Fairbrother, Harny, Daniell, and Bowler.

Mr. Tren died on 17th June, 1738. The church-book says, "He was a man universally respected in his ministerial character, and officiated among this people ten years." He published a volume (12mo) of useful sermons; among which are the funeral sermon of Mr. Gilson, his predecessor, and the sermon preached at the first opening of the Gift Houses[2]—an establishment near Col-

[1] According to the Evans MS. he had 1,500 hearers. On the same authority the three Dissenting congregations in Colchester—Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist, had among them 150 County and 400 Borough voters.

[2] This was the institution known as "Winsley's Hospital," founded by the

chester for the residence and support "of tradesmen who have lived well, and have fallen into decay": some of the first trustees of which were chosen out of Mr. Tren's congregation; and the others from the other Independent congregation in the town.

The most remarkable circumstance related traditionally of Mr. Tren, and which his present successor has often heard mentioned by one whose father was one of Mr. Tren's hearers, is that he preached his own funeral sermon, and died very soon after. About a month after his death, 23rd July, a notice is recorded that Mr. Richard Harrison was unanimously chosen. The stay of this gentleman must, however, have been very short, for in 1739 Mr. Bulkley was the officiating minister, and it appears that in 1740 there was no pastor.

In 1741 Mr. Gillibrand officiated for some months; but nothing further is known of him. On 27th June, 1742, Mr. James Throgmorton was invited to the pastoral office and settled. During his time it is likely the interest was in a flourishing state, as there is mention of an election of *six* deacons and 17 additional trustees (see Church Book, 23rd September, 1750).

Mr. Throgmorton died in 1753, having been minister eleven years, and with him expired for the time the faith of the Gospel as declared in the New Testament and professed by the founders of this interest.

Mr. T. appears to have been a faithful man. He was followed by a Mr. Wren, who preached about a year, but was not settled as pastor. He was succeeded in 1754 by Mr. T. Stanton, who soon declared enmity to the doctrines of the Cross, kindled the flames of controversy, gave the people a relish for error, and planted the deadly Upas-tree of Socinianism on that spot which had seen the Holy and Divine Plant of Renown flourishing and affording both fruit and shade to weary and hungry souls. Thus matters continued till 1776, when Mr. (then Dr.) Stanton resigned his connexion here and went to settle near Norwich.

Mr. Wm. Waters came in April the same year, and watered the pestiferous plant Dr. Stanton had planted. He was ordained on 9th October following by Drs. Furneaux, Kippis, Savage, Rees, and Stanton. He continued pastor about six years, relinquishing his charge 24th June, 1782.

His successor was Mr. Rees Harris, who began to preach here in May, 1783, and was ordained in May of the following year. He maintained the same evil tenets as his predecessor, and pursued a course of practice not very consistent; but continued minister of this place thirteen years, when in September, 1795, finding all anxious for his departure, he resigned his office. He was a man of no religion, and therefore fell a prey to the temptations of

will—dated 28th March, 1726—of Arthur Winsley (see Morant's *History of Colchester*, p. 170), and opened 1st January, 1736.

sociality, and at his farewell adopted the following text as the ground of his discourse: "I was a reproach among all mine enemies, but especially among my neighbours, and a fear to mine acquaintance: they that did see me without fled from me" (Psalm xxxi. 11).

In the month of November in the same year Mr. Isaac Taylor, deacon of the church at Lavenham, in Suffolk, began to preach to the people. He settled with them as pastor in the next year, being ordained on 21st April, 1796. Mr. Taylor continued pastor of the church from the above date until 30th September, 1810, when the congregation had so fallen away that he resigned his charge, "Having met," he said, "with so many discouraging circumstances which seemed to intimate that his work was done in Colchester." He removed to Ongar in the same county.[1]

Though Mr. Taylor preached here fifteen years, the old Socinian leaven was not thoroughly eradicated; and of course it presented a very formidable obstacle in the way of usefulness.

Mr. Joseph Drake preached here the first time on the next Sabbath after Mr. Taylor's farewell, viz., 7th October, 1810, and, being approved, was invited to settle, which he did. As he was an ordained minister a few ministers were invited to sanction the settlement, and recommend it to the Divine blessing. This connexion, though promising happiness, was very unhappy, and soon dissolved. Mr. Drake came from Newport in the Isle of Wight; he was settled on 27th March, 1811, and resigned his charge the 25th December following, having been pastor only nine months. This hasty dissolution was in great measure owing to some Antinomians, who had obtruded on the people the occasional services of a favourite preacher of theirs, one John Church; a wretch in form human, but in his nature so vile that it would dishonour the most unclean beast to compare him to it. Mr. Drake removed to Ridgewell in the same county.

For nearly two years after the resignation and removal of Mr. Drake things were in a confused state. The Antinomian party retired, and obtained a place for themselves in another part of the town; and this place was supplied with students from Hoxton Academy; after which, on 25th December, 1813, the present minister, Joseph Herrick, preached for the first time among them. After a few weeks he received an invitation, signed by all the members, and unanimously agreed to by the congregation, to continue some time on probation; in compliance with which he preached among them till 27th April, 1814, when he became their pastor, and was ordained in the manner usual among Protestant Independent Dissenters. On that occasion the

[1] He is commonly distinguished as "Taylor of Ongar"; he was the father of the more widely known Isaac Taylor, of Stanford Rivers, also of Ann Taylor (Mrs. Gilbert), Jane, and Jeffreys Taylor.

services were very solemn and interesting, and were conducted in the following manner : Rev. J. Savill, of Colchester, commenced with reading and prayer. Rev. S. Douglas, of Chelmsford, explained the nature of a Gospel church, asked the usual questions, and received the Confession of faith ; Rev. W. B. Crathern, of Dedham, prayed the Ordination prayer ; Rev. J. Thornton, of Billericay, under whose tuition Mr. H. sometime was, gave the Charge in a most excellent and impressive discourse on "Preach the Word" ; Rev. J. M. Ray, of Sudbury, preached to the people from "Suffer the word of exhortation" ; Rev. C. Atkinson, of Ipswich, concluded with prayer. In the evening Rev. J. Savill prayed ; Rev. Robt. Stevenson, of Castle Hedingham, preached on "We seek not yours but you" ; and Rev. S. Coppin concluded. Many still remember the day with great pleasure.

The appearances of that day, and circumstances for a considerable time after, promised a perpetuity of as much comfort and usefulness as it is reasonable to expect in a world daily groaning under the effects of sin. But toward the autumn of the following year some circumstances occurred which developed facts greatly to be deplored. It was soon found that there remained a small party still attached to the old Socinian system ; and every week elicited new proofs that they could not be at rest till the Gospel of Jesus Christ was again rooted out. Every engine was set to work, war was formally declared, the minister's salary was in part held back, the place was repeatedly locked against him ; a warning was given him to leave, signed by seven persons only, although the congregation consisted of at least seven hundred, and every kind of ill-treatment was adopted to drive him away. And he would cheerfully have retired, but the earnest solicitations of a people to many of whom he had been made useful induced him to stay, notwithstanding a constant and most serious expense of feeling, which continued till 3rd June, 1816, when the Socinian trustees (having clandestinely enlarged their own number without the knowledge or consent of four of the old trustees, and thus secured a large majority) sent persons early in the morning who, under pretence of repairing the building, beat the whole of the roof through the rafters into the pews ; not a tile or lath was left. And thus a large congregation of Protestant Dissenters were, by men calling themselves Dissenters, though a reproach to the name, thrown into the utmost consternation and distress, without the least previous notice. The congregregation met on Lord's Days, sometimes in Mr. Savill's meeting [*Lion Walk*.—Ed.], sometimes in the garden of the minister's house ; and after long deliberation it was deemed not to be worth while to go to law to obtain the old building, as it was old, and would cost, for law and repairs, almost as much as a new building. The congregation therefore, with the minister and friends, after many anxious fears, determined on a

new erection, which was accordingly accomplished, and the new place, situated about fifty yards from the old one, in the same lane, was opened for worship on the 13th November, 1816, when two sermons were preached, that in the morning by Rev. R. Stodhart, of London, from "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, Jesus Christ," and that in the evening by Rev. J. Thornton, of Billericay, from, "O Lord, I beseech Thee, send now prosperity." Many other ministers were present, and a crowded congregation contributed liberally to the help of the minister and his friends.

Since that time the church has increased, and the congregation has become very regular, and large enough to be often inconvenient to some. The building will hold 600 well, and it is in contemplation to render it capable of holding 200 more. The minister who weathered the storm with the congregation still continues with them, well respected by them, and useful among them, having admitted upwards of sixty regular communicants in the seven years of his ministry among them (many of whom were brought to the knowledge of the truth under his ministry), beside many others who are occasional members [Q. *Communicants?*—Ed.]. It is now matter of thankfulness continually to this church that the old connexion is dissolved, as they were before always hampered with persons who had power and place in the church or congregation, but no religion, unless the semi-deism of Socinians may be so called. They are now alone, and have done better as to both temporal and spiritual concerns ever since—a clear proof that believers should "come out" and "be separate."

The old meeting-house, after laying completely open for about a year and eight months, has been repaired and reopened by the London Socinians, who have settled one of their students there; but they have never gained any ground. Such as are living of those who were foremost in their opposition to Evangelical religion still go, and have been joined by a very few others, among whom is a Jew and his wife; but they cannot always collect as many as thirty persons in a place that is capable of seating 700 and of holding 800 or 900.

Joseph Herrick,
31*st March*, 1821.

To the Rev. Jno. Blackburn,
Finchingfield, near Braintree, Essex.

[In Morant's *History and Antiquities of Colchester*, 1768, the congregation of St. Helen's Lane is called Presbyterian. Evidently, although practically Independent, it was not truly Congregational, or the clandestine packing of the trusteeship would not have been possible. The Socinian capture of the old building did not yield

them permanent satisfaction, and after some vicissitudes it came finally into the hands of the Wesleyan Reformers. Mr. Herrick retained the pastorate of the new building, called Stockwell Chapel, to the end of his life; about four years before his death he was able to boast that in forty-six years he had never been one single Sunday out of the pulpit. He died in 1865 (see memoir in the *Congregational Year Book* for 1866). He was succeeded by Rev. Thos. Batty, a Hackney Student, who held the charge for thirty years, retiring in 1906 and dying in 1909. Another Hackney student followed, Rev. D. L. Ward, under whom the interest declined. In 1914 he passed over to the Presbyterian Church. The pastorate is now vacant, and the latest statistics indicate that the church is in a depressed condition.—Ed.]

Sir John Hartopp as Reporter

AMONG the MS. treasures of the Congregational Library is a folio volume in sound vellum binding, having on the fly-leaf, twice repeated, the names of John Hartopp and Elizabeth Hartopp, and the date 1660. The pages measure 14 in. by $8\frac{3}{4}$ in.; there are 503 written pages, averaging about 40 lines to a page and 10 or 11 words to a line, followed by about 70 pages blank. The handwriting is clear and distinct, and each page has a margin of $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. The handwriting, spelling, and punctuation all indicate the work of a young man of good education and abundant leisure: and there need be no hesitation in assigning it to Sir John Hartopp—the son-in-law of Fleetwood and the early patron of Watts—whose age, at the date given on the fly-leaf, would be about 23.

The contents of the volume are twenty-eight sermons by six authors, all preached on various dates, ranging from April, 1660, to April, 1661. According to a note on p. 124 they were taken in shorthand by "J. H."; the arrangement is not strictly chronological; and there is generally no indication of the places where they were delivered. Two, indeed, are said to have been preached at a "Hackney Lecture"; and in two headings a word has been very carefully obliterated, *perhaps* to conceal the place of delivery.

The following is the order:—

Mr. Cox. Seven sermons on Haggai 1:7, preached on Apl. 22 and 29, May 20, June 10, July 1 and 22, and Aug. 5, 1660. pp. 1–124.

[The entire treatise is written continuously, separate sermons not being distinguished.]

Mr. Knollys. Sermon on Psalm 119:175, preached 6th Dec., 1660. pp. 124–136.

Mr. Watson. Sermon on Esaiah (*sic*) 43:4, preached at Hackney Lecture, 22 Aug., 1660. pp. 136–148.

Mr. Bull. Sermon on Rom. 8:35, preached at Hackney Lecture, 21st (or ?26th) Sept., 1660. pp. 148–164.

Mr. Calamy. Sermon on Philipp. 4:5, "Before the Parliament, never printed," 30 April, 1660. pp. 164–186.

Mr. Cox. Seven (of eight) sermons on Hebrews 11:6; preached on 26 Aug., 30 Sept., 14 and 28 Oct., 11 Nov., 2 and 16 Dec. 1660. pp. 186–317.

[The second sermon of the series, pr. on 23rd Sept., is wanting; but the heads are recapitulated in that which follows.]

Mr. Cox. Sermon on Acts 14:22; preached 30th Dec., 1660. pp. 317–342.

Mr. Jenkins. Eight sermons on 1 Peter 4:18; preached on 24 Feby., 10 Mar. M. and A., 17 Mar. M. and A., 24 Mar. M. and A., and 31 Mar., 1661. pp. 342–487.

Mr. Jenkins. Sermon on John 16:22; preached 7th Apl., 1661. pp. 487–504.

[Incomplete: breaks off abruptly after line 7 on the page.]

About most of these authors there is no possibility of doubt. "Mr. Knollys" must be Hansard Knollys, the eminent Baptist confessor. "Mr. Watson" is Thomas Watson, M.A., ejected from St. Stephen's, Walbrook; "Mr. Bull" can scarcely be any other than Daniel Bull, rector of Stoke Newington; "Mr. Calamy" must be Edmund Calamy, B.D., of Aldermanbury; and "Mr. Jenkins" can scarcely be other than William Jenkyn, M.A., of Christ Church, whose *Exposition on Jude* is still prized by lovers of Puritan literature. About Cox there is some obscurity. The only similar name among the Ejected Ministers is Henry Coxe, of Bishopstoke, Hants, who is unlikely. In Brook's *Lives of the Puritans* we find mention of one Benjamin Cox, a Baptist, who held a discussion about Baptism with Baxter, and was for some time resident in or near London. He may possibly be the man; and as "Mr. Cox" contributes fully half towards the content of our MS., further light on his personality seems desirable.

The Canterbury Church-Book

[See *Trans.* vol. vii, No. 3, pp. 181–96]

Supplementary Notes

AFTER the Restoration the members of the church must for some years have held their meetings in privacy. In Williamson's *Spy Book*, 1663 (see *C.H.S. Trans.* v, 255) we find this entry :—

"Ventris (Pastor) meets frequently in and about Canterbury wth one Durant: Major Broadnax, Capt. Munnings, Capt. Mascall, Capt. Lee, Hatter, Mr Scot Esqr are members to their Church."

Ventris, it is to be observed, was the ejected minister of St. Margaret's Church, and was a Presbyterian.

From the Sheldonian return, 1669, we find that there were then four conventicles in the city: one of Quakers, "numerous, but not considerable for estate"; one of Baptists, "not numerous, and mean in quality"; one of Presbyterians in St. Dunstan's parish, having Mr. Ventris and two other ejected ministers as their teachers; and the "Independ^ts, 500 at least; They meete in ye morning in St Pet^rs, afternoone in St Pauls";[1] of their "Principalls & Abettors" the first named is "Tho. Scot Esqr: a Ringlead^r of the Peticõn for the K^s tryall"; and their "Preach^rs or Teach^rs" are "John Durrant, excom̃ Independ^t Preach^r, once a Wash ball maker, Frances Taylo^r, excom̃ N. Conf. min^r, once Presbyt., now Indep^t." The latter was the blind rector who had been ejected from St Alphage.

Under the Indulgence of 1672 Mr. Durant obtained a licence dated 2nd April, "To be a Congregational Teacher in Almnery Hall without Canterbury." In the application the place is described as "The Almirey Hall (her'tafore belonging to Ethelbert's Pallace) near and without ye walls of ye city of Canterbury in or near ye Burrough of Longport." (The place was also called the Aumory or Almonry). On 29th May Messrs. T. Scott, Esq., Zach. Lee, Hatter, Edward Hirst, Attorney, and John Jacob, Gentleman, all members of the Congregational Church, obtained licences as preachers. Also on 1st May licences were granted to Mr. Ventris and Mr. Robert Beak, the ejected vicar of St. Stephen's, to preach to a Presbyterian congregation in "Mr Roper's Hall, in the parish of St. Dunstan's."

From the revocation of the Indulgence till shortly before the Revolution we have very little information about Nonconformity in Canterbury. An Episcopal Return for the diocese, in 1676, represents the *Adult* inhabitants of the Rural Deanery as 5,427, of whom 36 were papists and 1,894 "other dissenters"; of these the greater part are said to have been Walloons.

[1] This must mean the parishes so called; that conventicles should at that time be held in the churches is inconceivable.

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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

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Contents

Editorial - - - - - - 265

Taunton School - - - - - 267

The Book of Sports - - - - 273

John Warner, M.A. - - - - 280

Congregational Hymnody - - - - 288

The Ancient Merchants' Lecture - - - 300

The London Itinerant Society - - - 310

An Unpublished Letter of Oliver Heywood - 324

State Prayers—The Niblock Collection - - 326

May be had direct from the Book Saloon, Congregational Union of England and Wales, Memorial Hall, London, E.C. 4.

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EDITORIAL

WE hope to hold our Annual Meeting in the Memorial Hall on Wednesday 8th May, 1918, at 3 o'clock p.m. A paper is expected from Rev. G. L. Turner, M.A., and the necessary business will be transacted.

* *

As a Society we are not concerned with present-day controversies within the Congregational fold. We have therefore taken no notice of a discussion which has lately been carried on in pamphlet form as to what is "the centre principle, the great element in Congregationalism," whether *Autonomy* or *Spirituality*. To us it seems that the absence of either is necessarily fatal. But we have pleasure in commending a small sixpenny pamphlet by Dr. Nightingale, entitled *Congregationalism Re-examined*, in which may be found, in more concise form than elsewhere, a summary of the opinions that have been held by Congregationalists on both sides of the Atlantic during the last three hundred years, not only on the "centre principle," but on such intimately related topics as the Relation of the Church to the Churches, the Status of the Ministry, Ordination, Presbyters at Large, etc., etc. It is not necessary to agree with the author on all points, to find in the pamphlet a store of valuable information about the thoughts and doings of our ancestors; information which should be of great utility in view of current discussions and probable developments.

* *

We are requested to call attention to a mis-spelling which occurs three times on p. 244 of the current volume of *C.H.S. Trans.* In each case "Raleigh" should be "Rayleigh."

* *

Dr. Peel sends us the following extract on English and German Characteristics in 1563.

Readers might find the following from the 1563 edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* timeous and interesting. After describing "a false, fearful imagination of fire at Oxford University," the martyrologist writes :—

"Such is the order and manner amongst the Englishmen; much diverse and contrary to that which is used among the Germans. For whensoever any fire happeneth in Germany, by and by the bells ringing in all the steeples stir up the people to help. Who immediately are all ready in armour; some go unto the walls, others beset the ways, and the residue are appointed to quench the fire. The labour is diversely divided amongst them, for whilst some fetch water in leather buckets, other some cast on the water, some climb the houses, and some with hooks pull them down, some again attend and keep watch without, riding in the field: so that by this means there lacketh neither help within, neither safeguard without. But the like is not used here in England: for when any such thing happeneth, there is no public sign or token given: but the outcry of the neighbours doth stir up all the others to help. There is no publike or civil order in doing of things, neither any division of labour; but every man, running headlong together, catcheth whatsoever cometh next to hand to quench the fire."

* *

The Editor would be glad of information about extinct Congregational Churches and preaching-stations, especially in the counties of Cornwall, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Sussex. According to a list "prepared by permission of the Registrar-General," there were in 1854 between 70 and 80 "Independent Chapels" in those four counties, the names of which do not appear in our present county lists. Many of these were, no doubt, temporary preaching-places; while others, especially in Sussex, were congregations of High Calvinists which were never in fellowship with the County Associations. But ten had regular pastors whose names are given in the Alphabetical List of the 1855 Year Book; and some were "vacant and awaiting the settlement of pastors."

Taunton School

UNTIL quite recent times the great public schools of England were practically closed against Nonconformists, if not by any formal test, yet by their ecclesiastical atmosphere. This was of such a character that it would have been little short of a miracle for a boy to pass through the curriculum without learning to identify religion, or at least Christianity, with "the Church by Law Established." To mitigate this grievance, Mill Hill School (of which the history is told in vol. iii, pp. 171 flg.) was founded in 1807; and its success has led to several more or less courageous imitations.

In 1845, at the invitation of the Rev. Henry Addiscott, several gentlemen met at the manse attached to Paul's Meeting, Taunton, "To consider the provision of a boys' school, where the sons of Nonconformists should receive a first-class liberal education, free from Church of England control." The projectors included James Bunter, Esq., banker; John Clitsome Musgrave, Esq., of Pyrland; and Rev. James Taylor, of Fulwood; and the scheme secured the approval and support of many leading men in Bristol, Somerset, and Devon. Among these appear the names of Revs. David Thomas, of Highbury, Bristol; Henry Quick, of Bath; James Allen; Messrs. R. Ash, P. C. Clarke, F. S. Gervis, J. Heudabourck, J. B. L. Pike, J. P. Spencer, T. Sully, H. O. Wills, W. D. Wills, and many others. Accordingly, in 1846, "The West of England Dissenters' Proprietary School, Taunton" was founded, under a Trust which provided that no proprietor should hold more than

fifteen shares of fifteen pounds each (ten pounds being paid up); and that no larger dividend than five per cent. per annum should be paid, all surplus money being spent in the provision of improved premises for the comfort and advancement of the scholars. Three newly built houses in Wellington Terrace, with the field adjoining, were secured on a twenty-one years' lease; and these having been properly fitted up, the school was opened, with the Rev. James Bewglass, LL.D., formerly of Dublin, as Headmaster.

It is interesting to notice among the first boys many sons of the founders, who, by their professional or commercial success, have done credit to the school. Among these may be named R. Alsop, Allen, Edward G. Clarke, Daw, J. Derry, J. B. Figgis, Samuel Figgis (since president of the School Council), Frederick Gervis, Henry Gervis, E. Goddard, C. Layton, Musgrave, J. C. Parkyn, Pike, Pollard, Colmer B. Symes, Edward Payton Wills, Frederick Wills, Samuel Day Wills, Wilson, W. F. Windeatt, etc.

The first annual meeting of subscribers was held in 1847, under the presidency of Mr. W. D. Wills, when Rev. H. Addiscott, as Honorary Secretary, reported excellent support, and such a number of scholars as to require immediate increase of accommodation, and the completion of the large schoolroom block. In this year the school was recognized by and affiliated to the University of London.

Dr. Bewglass having resigned in order to undertake the Headship of Silcoates School, in Yorkshire, the Headmastership was held from 1854 to 1856 by Rev. Thomas Clarke, M.A., whose success was by no means equal to that of his predecessor.

In 1857 Rev. W. H. Griffith, M.A., was appointed to the vacant Headship. He was formerly one of the tutors in the Western (Theological) College, Plymouth, had taken great interest in the school, and had acted on its committee. This appointment was

more than justified by the success of his twenty-four years' Headmastership.

The report for 1859 shows that the school had so increased as to make it necessary to secure a site on which to build a permanent school-house. The committee had purchased a property called "Mount Nebo" for that purpose; but it was not so utilized, for the wealthy owner of land near by paid £1,500 to the funds of the school to prevent it.

Not till 1868 was the present site—then called Fairwater House and fields—purchased. The committee at once proceeded to erect, at a total cost of about £20,000, the handsome buildings so long to be known as "The Independent College, Taunton." On 10th June, 1870, the opening ceremony took place. The boys, with their band playing, and led by the Headmaster, Messrs. J. J. Storar, B.A., J. G. Loveday, and other masters, marched from their old quarters in Wellington Road to the new schoolhouse, where they were received by J. B. Spencer, Esq., the Chairman, W. H. Wills, Esq., and the committee. At 11 a.m. a religious service was conducted by Revs. E. J. Hartland, David Thomas, and Jas. Taylor, which was largely attended. A public dinner in the schoolroom, at 2 p.m., was presided over by G. B. Sully, Esq., and amongst those who were present and spoke were the Borough Members, Messrs. Barclay and James; A. Rooker, Esq., of Plymouth; R. Symes, Esq., of Bristol; Revs. J. B. Figgis, of Brighton, and Septimus March, of Southampton (both Old Boys), Revs. D. Hewitt, H. Quick, D. Thomas, C. Wilson, S. Wilkinson, and Wm. Young. In the evening prizes were distributed by Mr. Wills, and recitations and music were given by Allen, Burrington, Cox, Frost, D. Johnstone, Lepard, Loveday, P. Money, John Odgers, and others. "A memorable day, never to be forgotten by those present."

About 1876 a Junior School was inaugurated under the superintendence of Mrs. Milne.

In 1881 Rev. W. H. Griffith was compelled by ill-health to resign, much to the regret of all concerned. He carried with him to his short retirement at Clifton the satisfaction of having educated hundreds of men to take their parts worthily in the battle of life, and many of them to attain considerable distinction.

Rev. Frederic Wilkins Aveling, M.A., B.Sc. (son of Rev. Thos. Aveling D.D. of London), was elected in his thirtieth year to the responsible position of Headmaster. An "Old Boy," he brought to his new post ability, enthusiasm, and a lofty ideal, which in a few years carried the school on a flowing tide of prosperity. During these years a number of additions and improvements were made; amongst others, the organ formerly in use in St. Mary Magdalen Church was secured for the schoolroom. In 1894, however, some disagreement occurred; Mr. Aveling left to establish a school of his own at Blackheath, and about sixty of the boys followed him thither.

Mr. J. B. Ridges, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, succeeded to the Headmastership; and found that he had an arduous task before him—that of restoring the depleted roll of scholars. Still, his five years' work, supported as he was by Mr. G. B. Sully, the President, Sir William H. Wills, Bt., and several Old Boys, was not without a beneficent influence on the affairs of the school.

In 1899 the shareholders freely surrendered their interest, so that the institution might be refounded as a purely Trustee Endowed School under a scheme approved by the Board of Education. Thanks to the kindly influence of Sir W. H. Wills, the scheme was signed and confirmed by the Charity Commissioners on 16th May, 1900: and henceforth "Taunton School"—such is its new and simpler designation—becomes a Public School in the fullest sense of the term. The refounding of the school was taken up most heartily by the former shareholders and a large number of

"Old Boys," who, besides freely surrendering their shares, contributed a sum of £3,000 towards a Sustentation Fund.

The appointment to the Headmastership of Mr. C. D. Whitaker, M.A., LL.D. (Camb.), B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), formerly senior assistant master at Bishop's Stortford, proved a wise step; and, with the confidence inspired by the new foundation, soon led to a large increase in the number of new boys. The roll, which stood at 210 in 1902, rose to 300 in 1906, and to 400 in 1911, a little over which is its present number, the teaching staff being about thirty.

Buildings necessary by reason of this increase, or desirable with a view to improved teaching, were rapidly added; including classrooms, laboratories, new servants' quarters in a separate block, and a covered and heated Swimming Bath; and in 1905 Sir W. H. Wills (lately raised to the peerage as Lord Winterstoke) built at his sole expense the handsome School Chapel in memory of his deceased wife.

In 1907 the institution sustained serious losses in the deaths of Mr. G. B. Sully, son of one of the founders, who had been an active governor for fifty years, during thirty-two of which he had been its able and genial President; of Mr. Henry Addiscott, an Old Boy, an active governor and a liberal donor; and of Mr. Jonathan Evans, a wise counsellor and generous supporter of many years' standing.

In 1909, by the kind gifts of the Headmaster and his friends, the well-equipped and heated Dressing-rooms, Fives Courts, and large covered playground were erected. About the same time suitable houses were built for the Headmasters and for a Masters' Boarding House.

In 1911 the school was deprived of its oldest and most noted benefactor, by the death of Lord Winterstoke, who was called away in the midst of his good works. This year Dr. Whitaker formulated a scheme

for scholarships, tenable at the Universities by boys who enter direct from the school, and thus more firmly placed the school on that higher plane to which he has lifted it by his wise and strenuous labours. These scholarships are tenable at Oxford, Cambridge, and Bristol.

The year 1912 saw the dedication of the "Winterstoke Library and Common Room," and the block of hostels, both the generous gift of Miss Stancomb Wills. These complete the design of Lord Winterstoke, and contribute largely to the comfort and well-being of the boys.

It remains to mention a few of the Taunton Old Boys who have in various ways attained distinction:—

Hon. Sir S. W. Griffith, G.C.M.G., Australian Statesman.
Sir Edward Payson Wills, K.C.B.
Sir Frederick Wills, Bt., M.P.
Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P.
James Sully, LL.D., Educational Psychologist, Emeritus Professor of Logic in University College, London.
Dr. C. M. Thompson, Professor of Chemistry at Cardiff.
Dr. Jervis, of St. Thomas's Hospital.
Dr. J. J. Perkins.
Mr. W. J. C. Millar, for many years Registrar of the General Medical Council.
Professors Seymour, Thompson, Symington, and Allen, all of Cambridge.
Dr. Hicks, Anglican Bishop of Bloemfontein.
Rev. J. B. Figgis, of Brighton.
Rev. Colmer B. Symes, M.A., of Exeter.
Rev. E. Walrond Skinner, of Newport.
Rev. E. J. Hawkins, of Exeter.
Rev. F. W. Aveling, M.A., B.Sc., sometime Headmaster.
Capt. H. M. Greenfield, who was killed with Major Wilson's patrol in Matabeleland.
Sidney Goodman and Griffith Jones, barristers-at-law.
W. H. Trood, animal painter.
Sir Herbert Ashman, Lord Mayor of Bristol.
Sir Robert Symes and Mr. C. H. Bond, both Lord Mayors of Cardiff.
And the following noted athletes: S. Savery, J. L. Mathias, W. F. Long, J. C. White, and L. P. Marshall.

G. E. Colthurst.

The Book of Sports

ON Sunday, 17th August 1617, James I was sumptuously entertained at Hoghton Tower; when a petition was presented, nominally from peasants, tradesmen, and servants, that they might no longer be debarred from those Sunday Sports which had been usual before the Reformation, but which had been forbidden by proclamation under Edward VI and Elizabeth. On that day Bishop Morton, of Chester, preaching before the King, is reported to have said that "God had repealed the old law of the Sabbath by the work of His earthly representative and vicegerent!" And soon afterwards Morton, by the King's command, drafted "The Book of Sports."

The name of this amazing monument of State folly is familiar to every one; and its general purport is widely known from characteristic extracts freely quoted by many writers. But the document as a whole is not easily accessible. Professor Arber, indeed, reprinted it in the fourth volume of his *English Garner*, reproducing the title-pages of both editions, and indicating the two additional passages which are found only in the second. But he has modernized the spelling, and corrected the punctuation and use of capitals according to his own judgment. It is thought that a strictly accurate reprint, taking account of all such minutiæ, may be acceptable to our readers. We therefore present a transcript, *verbatim et literatim*, of the first issue, followed by the title-page of the second edition and the two added paragraphs.

THE KINGS MAIESTIES

Declaration to His

Subiects

CONCERNING

lawfull Sports to

be vsed

LONDON

Printed by BONHAM NORTON,
and IOHN BILL, Deputie Printers
for the Kings most Excellent
Maiestie

M.DC.XVIII

[On the back of the Title Page are the Royal Arms, without supporters, but having the Crown between the Rose and Thistle.]

[1]

By the King.

WHereas vpon Our *returne the last yeere out of Scotland, Wee did publish Our pleasure touching the recreations of Our people in those parts under Our hand: For some causes Us thereunto mooving, We have thought good to command these Our directions then giuen in* Lancashire *with a few words thereunto added, and most appliable to these parts of Our Realmes, to be published to all Our Subiects.*

Whereas We did iustly in Our *Progresse through* Lancashire, *re-*[2]*buke some Puritanes and precise people, and tooke order that the like vnlawfull cariage should not bee vsed by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and vnlawfull punishing of Our good people for vsing their lawfull Recreations, and honest exercises vpon Sundayes and other Holy dayes, after the afternoone Sermon or Seruice: Wee now find that two sorts of people wherewith that Countrey is much infested,*[1] *(Wee meane Papists and Puritanes) haue maliciously traduced and calumniated those Our iust and honourable proceedings. And therefore lest Our reputation might vpon the one side (though innocently) haue some aspersion layd vpon it, and that vpon the other part Our good people in that Countrey bee misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of Our meaning: We* [3] *have therefore thought good hereby to cleare and make Our pleasure to bee manifested to all Our good people in those parts.*

It is true that at Our first entry to this Crowne, and Kingdome, wee were informed, and that too truely, that Our County of Lancashire *abounded more in Popish Recusants than any Countie of England, and thus hath stil continued since to Our great regreet, with little amendment, saue that now of late, in Our last riding through Our said County, Wee find both by the report of the Judges, and of the Bishop of that diocesse that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to Us.*

The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made Us the more sory, when with Our owne Eares We [4] *heard the*

1633, infected.

generall complaint of Our people, that they were barred from all lawfull Recreation, and exercise vpon the Sundayes afternoone, after the ending of all Diuine Seruice, which cannot but produce two euils: The one, the hindering of the conuersion of many, whom their Priests will take occasion hereby to vexe, perswading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawfull or tollerable in Our Religion, which cannot but breed a great discontentment in Our peoples hearts, especially of such as are peraduenture vpon the point of turning. The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from vsing such exercises as may make their bodies more able for Warre, when Wee or Our Successors shall have occasion to vse them. And in place [5] *thereof sets vp filthy tipling, and drunkennesse, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speaches in their Alehouses. For when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not vpon the Sundayes and Holy dayes, seeing they must apply their labour, and winne their liuing on all working dayes?*

Our *expresse pleasure therefore is, that the Lawes of Our Kingdome, and Canons of Our Church, bee as well obserued in that County, as in all other places of this Our Kingdome. And on the other part, that no lawfull Recreation shall bee barred to Our good People, which shall not tend to the breach of Our aforesaid Lawes, and Canons of Our Church: which to expresse more particularly, Our pleasure is, That the Bishop, and all other inferiour Churchmen, and Church-war*[6]*dens, shall for their parts bee carefull and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and cõuince & reforme them that are misled in religion, presenting them that will not conforme themselues, but obstinately stand out to Our Iudges and Iustices: whom We likewise command to put the Law in due execution against them.*

Our *pleasure likewise is, That the Bishop of that Diocesse take the like straight order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conforme themselues, or to leaue the Countrey*[1] *according to the Lawes of Our Kingdome, and Canons of Our Church, and so to strike equally on both hands, against the contemners of Our Authoritie, and aduersaries of Our Church. And as for Our good peoples lawfull Recreation,* [7] *Our pleasure likewise is, That after the end of Diuine Seruice, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawfull Recreations; Such as danncing, either men or women, Archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmlesse Recreation, nor from hauing of May-Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting vp of May-poles and other sports therewith vsed, so as the same be had in due and conuenient time, without impediment or neglect of diuine Seruice: And that women shall have leaue to carry rushes to the Church for the decoring of it, according to their old custome. But withall We doe here accompt still as prohibited all vnlawfull games to bee vsed*

[1] 1633, County.

vpon Sundayes onely, as Beare and Bull baitings, Interludes, and at all times in [8] *the meaner sort of People by Law prohibited, Bowling.*

And likewise, Wee barre from this benefite and libertie, all such knowne Recusants, either men or Women, as will abstaine from comming to Church or diuine Seruice, being therefore vnworthy of any lawfull recreation after the said Seruice, that will not first come to the Church and serue GOD: *Prohibiting in like sort the said Recreations to any that, though cōforme in Religion, are not present in the Church at the Seruice of* GOD, *before their going to the said Recreations.* Our *pleasure likewise is, That they to whom it belongeth in Office, shall present and sharply punish all such as in abuse of this Our libertie, will vse these exercises before the ends of all diuine Seruices for that day. And We likewise straightly* [9] *command, that euery person shall resort to his owne Parish Church to heare diuine Seruice, and each Parish by itselfe to vse the said Recreation after diuine Seruice. Prohibiting likewise any Offensive weapons to be caried or vsed in the said times of Recreations. And Our pleasure is, That this Our Declaration shal be published by order frō the Bishop of the Diocesse, through all the Parish Churches, and that both Our Iudges of Our Circuit, and Our Iustices of Our Peace be informed thereof.*

Given at Our Mannour of Greenwich the foure and twentieth day of May, in the sixteenth yeere of Our Raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fiftieth

God save the King

[Title Page of second issue]

THE KINGS MAIESTIES

DECLARATION to His Subiects,

CONCERNING

lawful SPORTS to

bee vsed

Imprinted at LONDON by
Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings
most Excellent Maiestie : And by
the Assigns of *Iohn Bill*

M.DC.XXXIII

[On the back of the Title Page are the Royal Arms, with supporters, Crested Helmet, and Mantling.]

[1]

By the King.

OVr Deare Father of blessed Memory, in his returne from Scotland, comming through Lancashire, *found that his Subiects were debarred from Lawful Recreations upon Sundayes after Euening Prayers ended, and vpon Holy dayes: And Hee prudently considered, that if these times were taken* [2] *from them, the meaner sort who labour hard all the weeke, should haue no Recreations at all to refresh their spirits. And after His returne, Hee farther saw that His loyal Subiects*

in all other parts of His Kingdome did suffer in the same kinde, though perhaps not in the same degree: And did therefore in His Princely wisedome, publish a Declaration to all his louing Subiects concerning lawfull Sports to be vsed at such times, which was printed and published by His royall Commandement in the yeere 1618. *In the Tenor which hereafter followeth.*

[The Original Declaration is then reproduced, differing from the former issue only in unimportant variations of spelling, e.g. We and Wee, sory and sorry, dayes and daies, Puritans and Puritanes. The only differences of the slightest importance are the two indicated in footnotes; both of which are probably, the second certainly, misprints. At the end of the Declaration the following is added:—]

[15]

NOw out of a like pious Care for the seruice of God, and for Suppressing of any humors that oppose trueth, and for the Ease, Comfort, and Recreation of Our well deseruing People, Wee doe ratifie and publish this Our blessed Fathers Declaration: The rather because of late in some Counties of Our Kingdome, Wee find that vnder pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a generall forbidding, not onely of ordinary meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly [16] called Wakes. Now Our expresse will and pleasure is, that these Feasts with others shall bee Obserued, and that Our Iustices of the peace in their seuerall Diuisions shall looke to it, both that all disorders there, may be preuented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedome, with manlike and lawfull Exercises bee vsed. And Wee farther Command Our Iustices of Assize in their seuerall Circuits, to see that no man doe trouble or molest any of Our loyall and duetifull people, in or for their lawfull Recreations, having first done their duetie to God, and continuing in [17] obedience to Vs and Our Lawes. And of this Wee command all Our Iudges, Iustices of the Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Maiors, Bayliffes, Constables, and other Officers, to take notice of, and to see obserued, as they tender Our displeasure. And Wee farther will, that publication of this Our Command bee made by order from the Bishops through all the Parish Churches of their seuerall Diocesse respectively.

Giuen at Our Palace of Westminster the eighteenth day of October, in the ninth yeere of Our Reigne

God saue the King.

John Warner, M.A.

A forgotten Nonconformist Leader in South-West Hampshire 1646–1668

THE above-named controversialist and divine, who was content to retire into obscurity in A.D. 1660, is no doubt typical of many others in that stormy period. He occupies only one line in Calamy's Memorials (vol. ii, p. 7 of ed. 1775). He is not named in Brook, Neal, or Bogue and Bennett; and as he retired quietly from the vicariate of Christchurch in Hampshire in 1660, and was dead before 1669, his name is not included in Professor Lyon Turner's magnificent work on the early trials, etc., of the ejected. We gave a brief notice of Mr. Warner in our paper on Hampshire Congregationalism in *C.H.S. Transactions*, 1904, p. 294; but further researches have enabled us to recover more of his history as one of the pioneers of Nonconformity, and these details enhance the value of the scholar, patriot, and theologian.

John Warner was the son of William Warner, a wealthy clothier and small landowner, of Haresfield, Gloucester. He was born there about 1611, he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1628, became B.A. in 1632, and M.A. 1634. From the University, by Episcopal induction of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, he was made Vicar of Bathford (Som.) in 1636 (Foster Al : Oxon). It is significant to note at this point, as we shall presently see, that Mr. Warner followed Mr. John Lisle to Magdalen Hall and Mr. John Imber in New College. While Vicar of Bathford Mr. Warner published his first work; the title was *Temporal Losses Spiritually Considered*, London, 1643. According to Anthony à Wood he was the author of several treatises on divinity (Wood, Athen. Oxon. ii, 142). Mr. Warner was therefore an author at the age of thirty-two.

Now we must turn for a moment (to become intelligible) to his fellow-University student John Imber, who won his M.A. and then became a minor canon of Winchester Cathedral, and a little later (on 30th January, 1640) Vicar of Christchurch. These were troublous days in England, and not long afterward ensued the

ST. MICHAEL'S CHAPEL, CHRISTCHURCH.

great civil war betwixt Charles I and his Parliament. The Rev. John Imber became involved with the Royalists, and was actually captured in arms by Sir William Waller in Christchurch Castle, and was imprisoned in consequence (see Waller's letter dated Ringwood, 7th April, 1644, in S.P.D. and Whitelock's Memo. p. 82, or Godwin's Civil War, p. 195). Later, in 1646, he was deprived or sequestrated by the Triers. These facts are the basis of the statement in Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy that Mr. Imber was plundered and imprisoned—the vicariate of Christchurch thus become vacant. At this point John Lisle, the other Oxford student of earlier days, reappears on the scene. Since the Oxford Terms Mr. Lisle had become a lawyer and politician. He was M.P. for Winchester and an energetic Parliamentarian; but, what is more to our purpose, one of his country seats was at Moyles Court, only a few miles north of Christchurch; and also that on the 31st July, 1641, Mr. Lisle had been elected a burgess of the town of Christchurch. It seems natural therefore, with full knowledge of the crisis that had occurred at the vicarage in 1646, that Mr. Lisle thought of his old fellow-student at Oxford, and persuaded Mr. Warner to leave Bathford for the vacancy at Christchurch. The dedication of Mr. Warner's book on *Justifying Faith*, published in 1657, is proof of this fact; it runs thus: "To the Right Hon: John Lisle one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England," in which occurs an expression of "thankfulness" because his (Mr. W.'s) interest had been promoted by Mr. Lisle, and that as "a tree planted by your Lordship and supported by the benign influence of your favour" (Preface to Diatriba, p. 3). That there had been, and was, personal correspondence and respect betwixt these two Oxonians is clear, and Warner proceeds to pass a glowing eulogy on Lisle as a devout Christian man, which is valuable as a published contemporary record. But here we must notice the fact that both—and Mr. Warner especially—had committed the clerical offence of "intrusion"—an old sin, by the by (see 9 Mark 38, 9) —for the doctrine of apostolic succession admits fouling of its supply, or (as in the case at Christchurch) an arrestment by civil process while ignoring the need of the people, or clerically treating it as of secondary importance. Many godly preachers of the ages have been dubbed "intruders" as an excuse for their persecution.

But it is now our business to see what sort of a minister was found for Christchurch, for "wisdom is justified of her children." Our evidence, though somewhat scattered, is fairly abundant and complete. The Vestry Minute Book shows John Imber's signature for 1643, and he does not sign it again until 1660, and after that date it is consecutive for many years. The first signature of John Warner as minister is dated 6th March, 1646, and

with one interruption (in 1651) is of yearly occurrence until 23rd April, 1661; from thenceforth Mr. Imber reappears and Mr. Warner neither signs as an official or parishioner. We are not left in any doubt as to his activities in Christchurch. First of all we have Mr. Warner's own testimony in the preface to his work on *Justifying Faith* in these words: "The order I have observed for many years is in the morning to deliver something concerning faith, repentance, conversion, how to bring men to Christ, and in the afternoon some text that may concern the saints' edification on Christ or walking in Christ. It is now two full years since I preached over Matt 5, and I am now (i.e. 1657) on the decalogue and Colos 3rd" (Preface to Reader, A 2). On the same page is a reference to the people of "my synagogue" which the late Rev. Jos. Fletcher, of Christchurch, was the first to point out "as language peculiar to the Independents to which Lisle and Cromwell belonged."

Another proof of Mr. Warner's ministry may be seen in the following parochial entry. "Anno 1651; We whose names are here subscribed together with the names of our children baptized do solemnly protest and promise that if we and our children do live together till they come to the age of nine years we will bring or cause our children to come to the congregation of Christchurch before our present minister Mr. Warner or his successors and there renew their covenant made in baptism, and to answer and give a reason of their hope by way of a catechisme so often as the said Mr. Warner or his successors shall require us to do." Is not this idea a foreshadowing of later Sunday School systems?

About this time Mr. Warner appears to have revived a school which, in late pre-Reformation times, had been held in St. Michael's Chapel, or Loft, which is above the "Lady Chapel" in the Priory Church. This was founded as a school wherein "a master taught children grammar," etc., and "lectures on divinity were delivered" (see S.P.D. Hen. viii). Of course these educational processes were interrupted by the dissolution of Twynham Monastery in 1539. We have no proof of their existence until Mr. Warner restarted the school afresh in the Commonwealth era, and this short period ended with his retirement in the spring of 1660. Soon after the actual Restoration the "Assembly of the Sixteen" petitioned Bishop Morley (of Winchester) for permission to use this spacious room for a school, and they (the petitioners) would undertake all costs and charges. This was evidently granted, because the Vestry Minute Book, under the date of 7th March, 1662, recites that "St. Michaels Loft shall for ever hereafter and is hereby set apart and appointed for a Free Grammar School" according to articles and agreements. If the date on the Royal Arms exhibited in the room can be trusted, it was restarted in 1664 and continued until its final closure in 1869.

We must refer now to Mr. Warner's chief work that has come down to us—it is dated "from my study at Christchurch Hantshire 10 Sep 1657." It is a small 8vo of 516 printed pages, its title is "*Diatriba Fidei Justificantis qua Justificantis,* or a Discourse on the Office of Faith as Justifying in opposition to Pontificians, Socinians, Arminians, and others, by John Warner, M.A., sometimes of Magd: Hall Oxon and now Pastor of the Church of Christ at Christchurch Hantshire. Oxford Printed by H. H. for Ed and John Forrest 1657." The first 15 pages are a Dedication to John Lisle, already quoted; then follow two pages of a letter from George Kendall, D.D., of Kenton, Devon, highly commending the work and saying that he had written to Dr. Owen, quoting from it. After this in the book are 22 pages of an "Address to the Reader," in which is the statement that it was published at the request of some judicious hearers and was submitted to several divines, of whom it seems Dr. Kendall (afterwards one of the ejected of 1662) was one. The body of the work consists of nineteen chapters, occupying, with its index, 479 pages of letterpress. There are one or two vague references in the book to the great civil war, which sufficiently indicate the preacher and author's sympathies; and they prove that he was more Independent than Presbyterian, which helps us to understand his early and quiet retirement at the Restoration of Charles II. Although Wood says that Mr. Warner was much resorted to at Christchurch by those of the Presbyterian persuasion (Wood, Ath. Ox. ii, 142) it must not be inferred that he was a bigoted partisan. He appealed to the Commonwealth authorities for leniency to Royalists, and oftentimes successfully, as the Calenders for compounding in the State Papers show. In 1658 a Christchurch charity, formed about half a century earlier, was put on a more equitable basis for the benefit of the poor; and the deed itself, although it bears the superscription of "Oliver Lord Protecter," was made permanent by Sir M. Hale, and is in the parish chest and still operative.

The restoration of Charles II in 1660 made a change inevitable at Christchurch as elsewhere. Mr. Imber was probably not far away, and had relatives in the district; besides he was entitled to his fifths by Act of Parliament as a sequestered person. As Mr. Warner retired Mr. Imber resumed his functions. A deep silence has fallen on the time of the change. The vestry record gives no clue, and the town records have been manipulated—possibly to prevent trouble. Mr. Warner did not go far away until compelled by the Five Mile Act, but his patron, John Lisle, was shot dead when going to church in Switzerland. Mr. Warner did not go back to Bathford; he is marked as ejected in 1663, but how Bathford vicarage was supplied from 1646 to 1663 is unknown. We get just a glimpse of Mr. Warner through the

Will of Thomas Browne (PPC Hene 75), a Christchurch parishioner with strong philanthropic and Puritan principles. This Will was made 4th February, 1667, and by it Mr. Warner was made a trustee and had a mourning ring as a personal friend. In point of time Mr. Warner died soon after, and his Will is PPC Hene 98. It was made 23rd March, 1667, and proved 2nd July, 1668, so that his death occurred between these two dates. In it Mr. Warner styles himself as clerk, late of Lymington, but now of Sopley. He left one married daughter as Mrs. Martha Hayley, who seems to have made some financial arrangements with her father out of some farm property at Harbridge, Hants, and no doubt on some of the Lisle estates, as Abraham Browne, Mrs. Lisle's steward, is one of Mr. Warner's executors. Two unmarried daughters are also named, Mary and Elizabeth. The youngest is left in charge of J. Newburgh, Esq., of Netherbury, Dorset, who has a MSS. commentary on Romans, with authority to publish it if he pleases. Besides these family arrangements, Mr. Warner left forty shillings for the poor of Christchurch, and another forty shillings for a gravestone in memory of his wife. This Will gives us the probable clue to Mr. Warner's movements after 1660. For a time, as we may presently see, he was in the town, until the Five Mile Act (1665) caused him to remove to near Lymington. There two of his friends had influence, Thomas Browne and John Hildesley. Mr. Browne we have noticed : Mr. Hildesley, another philanthropist, lived at Hinton Aumerle (or Admiral) ; he was a party with Mr. Warner and others in the charity rearrangements at Christchurch in 1655. He sometimes attended the parish vestry. He was a burgess of Lymington in 1635, M.P. for Winchester in 1654, 1656, 1659, and for Christchurch in 1660. He was a well-known friend of the ejected clergy, and at his death in 1680 he left by Will to a relative, a Mrs. Phelps, "the sum of £5,000 to be disposed of at discretion as annuities to the poor, learned and godly Nonconformist ministers." This philanthropic gentleman possessed considerable house property in Christchurch, and one of his tenants in 1680 was Martin Stoakes, about whom a little more presently. Then at Sopley, as well as around Moyles Court and Harbridge, Mrs.—or she is sometimes called the Lady—Alice Lisle, held considerable property in her own right. In this way the seeming wandering addresses of Mr. Warner's Will become intelligible. No doubt he would be protected by old parishioners and friends, and in return he would help the private religious life in that ungodly age.

But were these ministrations of Mr. Warner only outside the town of Christchurch ?—were they not also within ? Even this question may be answered quite satisfactorily, although the evidences are disconnected or indirect. The oldest deed belonging to the Congregational Church is dated 29th September, 1655,

and it describes the property as "a barn newly erected on a close of about half an acre of land called Culverhays." This barn, in the revision of 1730, is further described as being "used for many years past as a meeting-house for dissenters called Independents." The purchaser in 1655 was Martin Stoakes, a member of an old family of Christchurch residents, and a number of their Wills are in the Winchester Probate Registry. Thus—for our purpose—the first Martin Stoakes, of 1655, we find died in 1664, and left his son Martin the barn and field called Culverhays. This Martin Stoakes the second died in 1712, leaving his son Martin "the land called chapel land" . . . "also the meeting-house with all and every other appurtenance," and "he has other instructions" no doubt because there were dark days ahead for Nonconformists in the early years of the eighteenth century. An interesting discovery may be related here. In June 1909, during some alterations at the old Manse corner of the chapel premises a broken oblong tombstone was found face downward on the earth, bearing the following legible inscription :—

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF MARTIN
STOAKES SEN^{R} WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE THE 20TH DAY OF OCTOBER
ANNO DOMINI 1712
AGED 63 YEARS
HERE A . . . H JANE THE
WIFE OF . . . N STOKES
SEN^{R} WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE THE 20TH DAY OF APRIL
ANNO DOMINI 1715
AGED 63 YEARS
HERE ALSO LIETH MARTIN STOKES

The rest of the inscription is lost, but the information is sufficient for our identification. The Martin Stoakes, 1649–1712, was possibly a member of Mr. Warner's catechism class, and dared to have his grave in unconsecrated soil. As he is a recorded tenant of Mr. Hildesley in 1680, we may also identify him as the tenant of Mr. Hildesley's house which was licensed under the Indulgence, see Professor Lyon Turner's *Records*, vol. ii, p. 1041. This family record may be placed thus :—

Martin Stoakes, or Stokes I, purchased site of Congregational church in 1655, died in 1664
Martin Stoakes, or Stokes II, inherits by Will from his father —mentions meeting-house, dies 1712

Martin Stoakes, or Stokes III, inherits by father's Will—respects property see slab, dies ?
Martin Stoakes, or Stokes IV, admitted a member of Christchurch Independent Church on 1st May 1798.

Such a pedigree is noteworthy, though the family has left the town nearly a century. We are sorry now to add that the Christchurch Congregational authorities, instead of treating the tombstone as one of their valuable historic relics, have thrown it into a lumber cupboard adjoining the church, with wastes and refuse !

The problem yet remains—no doubt there were secret conventicles in the town of Christchurch, but was there a "gathered fellowship" ? This is sometimes difficult to prove for the times of persecution, but for Christchurch satisfactory proof has come from an outside and an unexpected quarter. The *Broadmead Records* of Bristol, published by The Hanserd Knollys Society, contain the interesting case of Mr. Whinnell, who applied for admission into that famous Baptist Church in 1680. Mr. Thomas Whinnell had been "dismissed from a church at Christchurch, in Dorsetshire, to a people here in Bristol walking with one Mr. Kitchin." This fellowship, which met in the Castle, had been broken up in the persecution, so Mr. Whinnell wished to join that in Broadmead. The Broadmead membership feared he was an Arminian, and suggested another transfer from Christchurch. This was refused on the ground that Mr. Whinnell had been dismissed from them "many years ago," that is to say, *before* 1680. From the Rev. M. Caston's *Independency in Bristol* we learn that there were six separatist communions in Bristol before 1670 : 3 Baptist, 2 Independent, and 1 Presbyterian. The Castle Green conventicle was dissolved between 1670 and 1675, so that neither church was in error in the course they adopted, and Mr. Whinnell became a member of Broadmead by examination and confession of faith (*Broadmead Records*, pp. 427, 452, 453, etc.). There is no Christchurch in Dorsetshire, but it is sufficiently near that county boundary to be included in Association work (see (*Evan. Mag.*, 1797 and 1809). Our inference from this Mr. Whinnell's case is that there was a fellowship in Christchurch in 1670, or even earlier, to have dismissed Mr. Whinnell to Bristol, and that date is only two years later than Mr. Warner's death in 1668. We may now add to this—that at Arnewood, near Hordle, there was a small meeting or conventicle reported in the Episcopal Returns of 1669, whose leader or teacher was Robert Ellyott, of Christchurch, a silkman (Lyon Turner's *Records*, i, 142). As regards the Indulgence, there are licences issued for John Hildesley's house and William Marshall's house as meeting-places in Christchurch (L. Turner, ii, 1041), and for Sopley the Widow

Sanders' house. Is this spot—a small country village—significant of the last days of the Rev. John Warner about four years earlier? Where they buried him and his wife is now unknown—it may be in Sopley or Christchurch churchyard or it may be not far from friend Stoakes in Millhams Street. His rest is undisturbed and sweet, yet at the front of the Nonconformists of Christchurch and Bournemouth nearly 250 years ago we beg to place the name, memories, and works of John Warner, M.A.—not lost, but gone on before!

We have pleasure in annexing a print of the "Loft," or chapel, which is in much the same condition, architecturally, as when Mr. Warner used it, except as it is the worse for two centuries' age. The style of architecture is late fifteenth-century work. Access by turret stairways still exists, both from within as well as outside the church. Behind the master's desk, attached to the east wall, was an ancient altar, and near its site is still an elegant piscina over which hangs the heraldic badge (three fusils in fess), of the Monteacutes, baronial lords in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the same wall, but on the north side of the master's desk are the Royal Arms with the initials C.R. and the date 1664.

George Brownen.

Congregational Hymnody

(*Continued from vol. vii, p. 234.*)

IN *C.H.S. Trans.* vol. vii, pp. 224 flg., we brought the history of Congregational Hymn Books down to the publication of the Official Hymn Book of the Congregational Union in 1835, closing with a remark that this very soon supplanted all previous Supplements to "Watts's Psalms and Hymns," very few such publications appearing at a later date. Indeed the few of later origin had for the most part a merely local circulation. The following have come under our notice: W. Jay, Bath, 1833 (quite distinct from his former compilation), 535 hymns, of which 22 are original; R. Bell and J. C. Hoatson, Halifax, 1834, 2nd edition 1839, 520 hymns; John Cass Potter, Tintwistle, 1835, 370 hymns, half of which are still in use; S. Parrott, Devonport, 2nd edition 1836, 600 hymns, strongly Calvinistic; John Griffin, Portsea, 1837, 302 hymns; Timothy East, Birmingham, 1839, 287 (quite different from his earlier selection); Anonymous, Bridport, 1840, 316 hymns promiscuously arranged; Anonymous, Watford, 1840, 105 hymns and doxologies; T. Raffles, Liverpool, 1852, 491 hymns in alphabetical order, 48 of them original, but of no great merit; Robert W. McAll, Sunderland, 1852, 700 hymns, many altered and abridged, but intensely Evangelical. With these must be associated the "Original Hymns . . . by various authors; edited by John Leifchild," 1843; the names of twenty principal contributors are given, including Conder, Mrs. Gilbert, Grant, Montgomery, a number of unpublished hymns by Charles Wesley, etc. But the book was a complete failure; it is doubtful whether, of the 370 original hymns here first printed, as many as half a dozen ever came into common use.

Apart from these supplementary selections, the twenty years following the publication of the "Congregational Hymn Book" saw an output of selections designed for public worship at the rate of nearly one per annum. Most of these were local, and designed for single congregations. Those which we have seen

(there were probably more) are Thomas Reid, Cole Street Chapel, Southwark, 4th edition, 1834, 366 hymns, strongly Calvinistic; R. H. Shepherd's, for Ranelagh Chapel, 3rd edition 1837, contains 728 hymns, of which 28 are original; Alexander Fletcher's "Finsbury Chapel Collection," 1835, a greatly enlarged edition of his book of 1822; Samuel Martin's "Collection of Hymns for Prayer-meetings," Trowbridge 1837, 130 hymns; H. F. Burder's "Psalms and Hymns," for St. Thomas's Square Chapel, Hackney, 2nd edition 1838, 600 hymns, more than half from Watts, the rest from about 50 authors; R. T. Hunt, collection designed for Colliers' Rents Chapel, 2nd edition, 1839, 464 hymns, moderately Calvinistic; W. B. Leach, selection for Robert Street Chapel, Grosvenor Square, 2nd edition 1840, 759 hymns, moderately Calvinistic; James Sherman, "Psalms and Hymns for the use of Surrey Chapel," 1841, 642 hymns; this passed through several editions, and was used by other congregations; Anon, "A Selection of Hymns and Psalms for the use of Working Men's Churches," Dock-head, Bermondsey, 1842, 158 hymns and 47 psalms; G. Whitefield's Collection, enlarged by M. Wilks, and further enlarged by J. H. Mann, for the use of the New Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Road congregations, 1845, 575 hymns.

Of the collections which appealed to a wider constituency than a single congregation or a narrow circle, the first place is claimed by "The Comprehensive Hymn Book; or, One Thousand Hymns, Selected and Original, for Congregational, Domestic, and Private Worship" by John Campbell, 1837; this, like the last mentioned, is based upon Whitefield's selection, and contains several hymns of the most pronounced Calvinistic type. "The Hymn Book," compiled in 1842 by Andrew Reed, had a wide circulation. It contains 840 hymns, and is truly catholic in its selection; about a third of its contents remain in use in various associations. The "Psalms and Hymns for Congregational Worship" selected by Ridley H. Herschell, 1846, contains a complete metrical psalter, mainly, compiled from Watts, Tate, and Brady, and the Scots' version, followed by 500 hymns of fair average quality and wide selection. There are no fewer than 41 hymns for the Lord's Supper, and 19 relating to the Jews; as was natural, Mr. Herschell being of Hebrew ancestry. The same year Dr. J. Leifchild issued a small volume of 74 "Hymns Appropriated to Christian Union, Selected and Original"; it was designed for Interdenominational meetings, and does not seem to have been reprinted. In 1849 Dr. W. L. Alexander, of Edinburgh, edited "A Selection of Hymns for Public Worship in Christian Churches," which came to be popularly known as "The Augustine Hymn Book" from the name of the church for which it was chiefly compiled. It is good commonplace; the editor has not scrupled to alter whatever

offended his taste, and he has systematically rejected hymns of intricate and unusual metres. It reached a third edition in 1865 and a fifth in 1872. It was subjected to several revisions; and the latest edition contained 552 hymns, with doxologies and anthems bringing up the number to 616.

In 1850 a book appeared which, though not widely—if at all—adopted for a church hymn-book, was in its own place of great value: this was "The People's Service of Song, a Tune Book for the Pew," edited by John Curwen. It contains about 200 hymns set to appropriate tunes, with references to other hymns to which the tunes are suitable. It was much used in singing classes, etc., and may fairly be claimed as the *precursor* of the whole family of hymn-books with tunes which have since come into general use. A passing word is due to a belated experiment by John Burder, of Bristol, in 1851. This was a revised and classified edition of "Watts's Psalms and Hymns," those portions which were by common consent obsolete being omitted. Mr. Burder had proposed such a publication to the Congregational Union nearly twenty years before; and at that time it might possibly have been successful. But now the opportunity had lapsed, and Burder's "Watts Revised" was never reprinted. "The Evangelical Hymn Book," compiled in 1853 by Rev. J. H. Rutherford, of Newcastle, passed through several editions, one as late as 1873. It contains 1,056 pieces, which seem to have been "drawn together with a rake." Some of the finest hymns in the whole treasury of the church stand side by side with the prosiest of doggerel, and few books exhibit more ruthless mutilations. The tone is, however, thoroughly evangelical, and the large number of hymns embodying the Gospel Call furnish a redeeming feature.

We now come to a book which may fairly be claimed as epoch-making:—"Psalms and Hymns for Christian Worship, compiled by the Congregational Ministers of Leeds," 1853. In the compilation they were much aided by the sound judgment and fine literary taste of George Rawson, Esq., himself a hymn-writer of no little merit. The "Leeds Hymn Book" contained about 900 hymns, together with 40 psalms and other portions of Scripture pointed for chanting, and the words of a few easy anthems. The authors represented are 163 in number, beside about 50 hymns that are anonymous or of uncertain origin. This statement allows for corrections; for a few of the assignments of authorship are incorrect, and some of the contributors, notably Mr. Rawson, withheld their names from publication. As might be expected, Watts is by far the largest contributor, the hymns which bear his name being 266; next comes C. Wesley with 78, Montgomery 54, Doddridge 46, Rawson 24, Conder 23, Heber 21, Newton and Kelly 17 each, Lyte 13, Ch. Elliot 12, Cowper, 11, Keble 10; while 95 authors provide one hymn apiece. Ten

pieces are translations from Latin hymns of the Unreformed Church. Regarded as a literary compilation the "Leeds Hymn Book" is far superior to anything that preceded it; and it is not surprising that for nearly forty years it was extensively used; and not exclusively in the North of England.

In May 1855 the Executive of the Congregational Union appointed a committee to prepare a hymn-book on similar lines to the Leeds publication. The result was the issue, in 1858, of "The New Congregational Hymn Book." It contained a thousand hymns, the work of about 160 authors, only about 27 of the hymns being anonymous or unassigned. The assignments are not invariably correct, but the errors are fewer than in almost any other collection. Of one thousand hymns no fewer than 370 are from Watts; an enormous disproportion which may be accounted for partly by the fact that 173 are metrical versions or imitations of psalms, and partly by the expectation that the book would widely supplant the "Complete Watts," with its intricate enumeration of about 700 hymns in four distinct series, which with supplements of varying bulk were still in common use. Next in frequency to the name of Watts is that of Charles Wesley with 72 hymns, Doddridge with 50, Montgomery 40, Conder 30, Newton 25, Lyte 21, Cowper 19. A remarkable drop is then observable in the order of frequency; 9 selections are taken from the Tate-and-Brady psalms; 9 each from Fawcett, Keble, Kelly, Steele, and Toplady; 6 each from Beddome, Hart, and Heber; and smaller numbers from other writers, of whom 77 are represented by a single hymn apiece. The one serious blemish in the book is that it is overladen with third-rate pieces of Watts, which were already obsolescent at the time of publication.

As the "Leeds" and "New Congregational" hymn-books were distinctly rival publications, it is worth while to notice that 517 hymns were common to both.

While the "New Congregational Hymn Book" was in process of compilation, a violent controversy broke out over a small volume of sacred poems by Rev. T. T. Lynch, entitled "The Rivulet." The hymns in this volume were marked by a careful avoidance of dogmatic assertion, but also by firm reliance on and devotion to the Person of the Saviour. Certain newspaper writers furiously assailed Mr. Lynch's "Negative Theology," which others as eagerly defended; and altogether about a score of pamphlets were printed on one side or the other. So keen was the "Rivulet Controversy" that in 1856 it was deemed inexpedient to hold the usual Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Union. The outcome of the whole business was that henceforth it could no longer be said, as formerly, that Calvinism was the dominant creed of the Congregational churches.

Most of the hymn-books issued within fifteen years after the

"New Congregational" are of local rather than general interest. An exception is "The Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book," edited by John Curwen, 1859. It contained 467 hymns with tunes, a dozen easy anthems, and about 40 psalms and portions of Scripture pointed for chanting. Prefixed was a course of music lessons, and appended was the Anglican Church Service according to the use of Westminster. It is unlikely that the book was extensively adopted as a church hymn-book; but its utility in the family circle, in Sunday Schools, singing classes, etc., was no doubt very great.

We have not ascertained the original date of the collection made by Rev. Joseph Sortain for the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, Brighton, which reached a fifth edition in 1866. Neither it, nor that selected and arranged by Rev. John Hutchinson, of Dunfermline, in 1861, call for any special notice; both are good commonplace. Much the same may be said of a huge compilation of above 1,400 "Psalms and Hymns for the Service of Song in the Christian Church, Home, and Sunday School," which was put forth in 1861 by W. H. Davison, of Bolton, and reprinted in 1876. There are a few good hymns by little-known writers, "but what are they among so many"? Of more interest is the "Supplementary Hymnal," compiled in 1862 by Rev. U. R. Thomas and H. O. Wills, Esq., for use in Redland Park Church, Bristol, as a supplement to the "New Congregational Hymn Book." It is a work of quite exceptional literary merit, containing 320 hymns; 8 of these are from Greek originals and 37 from Latin sources—some ancient or mediæval, and some from the great singers of the Gallican Church in the seventeenth century. No other Free Church hymn-book has drawn in so large proportion on the treasures of the Unreformed churches.

The "Cavendish Hymnal," compiled by Dr. Parker for Cavendish Church, Manchester, not without a hope that it would appeal to a wider constituency, is a good commonplace collection of 900 hymns and 118 chants and anthems: but there really seems no reason why it should have been printed, seeing that the "Leeds" and the "New Congregational" were already on the market. "The Evangelical Union Hymn Book," Glasgow, 1866, 559 hymns with an addendum of 45 for children, calls for no special remark. In 1868 Dr. H. Allon, of Islington, put forth a volume of 239 "Supplemental Hymns," which were extended to 341 in an enlarged edition, 1875. Nearly all these are good hymns, and most of them are now in general use. "Our Hymn Book," compiled in 1868 by Edwin Paxton Hood, was a purely local publication for use at Queen's Square Church, Brighton. The arrangement is promiscuous, about 80 psalms and Scripture passages for chanting being interspersed among the hymns, bringing the number up to 803. Some of the Original Hymns

are of great beauty, and ought to be better known. "A New Supplementary Hymn Book," by E. T. Prust, 1869, contained 282 hymns, most of which have been introduced into later collections. This seems to be the most convenient place to mention "The Augustine Hymn Book," compiled by Dr. D. Thomas, of Stockwell, on the principle that every hymn should be directly addressed to Deity. This plan was consistently carried out as far as No. 615, but so many really indispensable lyrics were thus excluded that about fifty such were appended as "Sacred Poetry." The volume is undated; and does not seem to have been used outside the Stockwell congregation.

By 1874 it had become evident that both the "New Congregational" and the "Leeds" hymn-books were seriously defective. Thereupon Rev. G. W. Conder put forth a well-selected appendix to the latter, consisting of 205 hymns by 114 authors. Of these 15 are translations from old Latin hymns, ranging from the fifth to the seventeenth century. The only authors who contributed more than five hymns were Bonar 12, Lynch 7, Neale 9, and Caswall 6, the last two including translations. Appended are half a dozen passages of Scripture and a few ecclesiastical canticles for chanting, the Advent Antiphons, five metrical litanies, and the words of about 35 anthems. About the same time the Congregational Union entrusted a committee with the task of compiling a Supplement to the "New Congregational Hymn Book." The finished production contained 281 hymns by 143 authors, of whom 104 contributed single hymns, and only eight more than five apiece. The largest contributors were Bonar, 17, Monsell 12, Rawson and Neale 9 each. Five of the hymns are from Greek and thirteen from Latin sources; of twelve we have not been able to ascertain the origin. As a rule the selection is admirable, but the editing is atrocious. Of the 281 hymns no less than 103 have been altered, generally for the worse. Julian is not too severe when he says: "The mutilations in the texts, made without any reason on poetical, theological, or ecclesiastical grounds, are very numerous, and are distinguished by extreme poetical weakness, and by lack of sympathy with the authors." A few specimens shall justify this criticism.

No. 1016 "Now from all men be outpoured
Alleluia to the Lord:
With Alleluia evermore
The Son and Spirit we adore."

Altered thus:—"From all let gladsome praise arise
To Him who formed the earth and skies:
With Hallelujah evermore
The one true living God adore."

No. 1038 "Inscribed upon the Cross we see
In shining letters "God is Love."
He bears our sins upon the tree,
He brings us mercy from above."

Altered thus :—"Inscribed upon the Cross we see
In crimson letters, darkly bright,
Of Holy Love the mystery:
For "God is Love," and "God is Light."

No. 1204 "And thronging angels never cease
Their deathless strain . . ."
"Where Thou, Eternal Light of Light,
Art Lord of all."

Altered thus :—"Where hymn and anthem never cease
Their joyous strain . . ."
Where Thou, the Lamb, its Living Light
Art Lord of all."

Soon after the issue of this unfortunate Supplement the Congregational Union published "The Abridged Congregational Hymn Book," consisting of 270 hymns selected from the 1,281 already in the hands of the people. It was thought that such a small selection might be useful for prayer-meetings, cottage services, etc., where a large book would be cumbersome. The hymns were well selected; but the experiment had only a limited success.

In 1874–5 the American evangelists, Messrs. Moody and Sankey, paid their first visit to England. The small book of "Sacred Songs and Solos" which they introduced had amazing popularity; and year by year new editions were produced, gradually increasing in bulk from about 60 to above 1,000 pieces. Though not of Congregational origin (for the book seems to have been merely a publisher's fortunate speculation) "Sankey" found a welcome in Congregational churches in all parts of the country, usually as a supplement, but often as the sole vehicle of praise in mission chapels, etc. And though many of the hymns and tunes are light and frivolous to such a degree as to be quite unworthy of a place in the sanctuary, its popularity is by no means exhausted.

In 1876, owing to the expiry of a lease, the old Surrey Chapel built for Rowland Hill was abandoned, and the congregation migrated to the new Christ Church at no great distance. Thereupon Rev. C. Newman Hall took occasion to introduce, only for local use, the "Christ Church Hymnal," containing 576 hymns and 14 Scripture canticles. They are well selected, and the literary tone of the book is above the average. It is overweighted, however, by 80 of the compiler's original compositions, of which a few deserve wider publicity. Another huge compilation of 1,500 hymns and 65 doxologies and benedictions, is the "Trinity Hymns" of John Vaughan, 1876, strongly Calvinistic in tone, and designed for Trinity Chapel, Hackney. Among so many there must be some good hymns, but the collection as a whole is not meritorious. Much better is "The New Sabbath Hymnal" by W. H. Davison, 1877, containing 429 hymns, chiefly selected from his larger collection, which is here winnowed with very satisfactory results.

"The Evangelical Union Hymnal," Glasgow, 1878, is a very creditable selection of 420 hymns, 15 doxologies, and 40 chants. It contains a few good hymns of little-known authors; its chief fault is injudicious abridgment. "The English Hymnal," of 1,260 hymns, was edited by Dr. R. W. Dale in 1879, primarily for the use of Carr's Lane Church, Birmingham, but also with a view to its adoption by "Congregational Churches, both Baptist and Pædobaptist." The editor was "anxious to preserve the national type both of faith and feeling," and "avoided whatever seemed foreign and unfriendly to our traditions and habits." But many of the hymns are of mediæval and German origin. Excellent as the collection is in many respects, it has not become popular, and even at Carr's Lane it has given place to a revised and reduced edition. Perhaps its most striking feature is the large number of hymns, nearly 40, by Thomas Hornblower Gill. In 1879 Rev. E. P. Hood, having removed to Manchester, issued a revised edition of "Our Hymn Book" for use in Cavendish Church. It is decidedly improved by the classification of its contents, but never had more than a local circulation. In 1882 a collection of 296 hymns in alphabetical order, with tunes, was printed for the use of the congregation at Norwood presided over by Rev. S. A. Tipple. It can scarcely be said to have been published; but it is noteworthy that there is scarcely a poor hymn in the book. A second edition, 1899, calls for no special remark.

As far back as 1865 Rev. H. Allon and his organist, Dr. Gauntlet, had published a useful collection of Church music entitled "The Congregational Psalmist." Many editions followed each other with successive enlargements, including a copious supply of chants and anthems; and at length, in 1886, the most useful of the tunes were combined with an equally useful selection of hymns under the rather clumsy name of "The Congregational Psalmist Hymnal." The hymns number 921, including most of those contained in the "Supplemental Hymns" of 1868 and 1875; and, viewed from the standpoint of Evangelical Conservatism, the book is one of uncommon excellence—the "poor" hymns being remarkably few. The hymns are drawn from 323 authors and translators, of whom 193 furnish single contributions. Nearly eighty of the hymns are translated—39 from German, 27 from Latin, 6 from Greek, and 6 from other foreign sources. The authors most fully represented are C. Wesley 73, Watts 72, Montgomery 32, Bonar 29, Doddridge and Monsell 20 each, Ellerton 16; others range from 15 downwards, and 15 English hymns are anonymous.

The "Congregational Psalmist" hymns were selected by a single editor: the same was the case with "Congregational Hymns," compiled by Rev. W. Garrett Horder, and published

in 1884. This contained 841 hymns, the work of 332 authors and translators (19 hymns being anonymous), together with 61 chants, anthems, etc. From a literary point of view the collection has great merit. Its theological outlook differs considerably from that of Allon's book, as may appear from a summary of the authors most fully represented, viz.:—C. Wesley 31, Watts and Montgomery each 26, Bonar 23, Monsell 17, Ellerton, Faber, Heber, Lynch, and Rawson 14 each, and Doddridge only 8; while 74 hymns are contributed by 36 writers who are understood to be more or less pronounced Unitarians.

The relation of these two books to each other was distinctly competitive; and though both were good, neither seemed quite satisfactory to the Executive of the Congregational Union. It was therefore decided to produce an entirely new book, which should be free from the dead weight of obsolete matter that cumbered the book of 1858 and its supplement, and should be furnished with appropriate music. Rev. G. S. Barrett, of Norwich, was appointed responsible editor, and was assisted by an advisory committee consisting of experienced pastors and persons understood to have extensive knowledge of hymnology. The work was harmoniously carried through, the only serious difficulty being that the limits of space imposed by the executive compelled the omission of above a hundred hymns which the editor and his colleagues desired to include. The complete work, published in 1887 as "The Congregational Church Hymnal," contains 775 hymns, the work of 305 authors and translators, of them 170 are represented by single hymns, and 13 hymns are anonymous. There are 7 translations from the Greek, 30 from the Latin, and 32 from the German. The theological complexion may be described as Broadly Evangelical, as will appear from the following list of the largest contributors:—Watts 62, C. Wesley 42, Montgomery 22, Bonar, Monsell, and Rawson each 16, Ellerton 15, Gill 14, Doddridge and Thring 13 apiece, J. Conder and How 12 each, Faber, Heber, Lyte, and Newton each 11, Neale 10, and C. F. Alexander, E. S. Armitage, Caswall, Cowper, Lynch, and John Wesley each 9. No hymn was included to which three members of the advisory committee took exception. The book was an immediate success; criticism was directed rather to the music than to the words. It was quickly followed by a Second Part, consisting of Metrical Litanies, Psalms, Scripture and Ecclesiastical Canticles, and Anthems. Of the 775 hymns 445 are found in the book of 1858 and its Supplement, 395 in the "Leeds Hymn Book" and its appendix, 464 in Allon's book, and 389 in Horder's.

In 1890 the Union issued "The Congregational Mission Hymnal" of 300 hymns, in the hope that it might supplant the almost ubiquitous "Sankey." It contained 91 hymns from the "Con-

gregational Church Hymnal," 114 of the best from Sankey, and 122 from other sources. It was a useful Mission book, but did not achieve the success that was hoped for by the compilers.

"Hymns of Faith and Hope, collected and edited by Rev. John Hunter," first appeared in 1889 with 695 hymns; and in a revised and much-enlarged edition (917 hymns) in 1896. It is distinctly and pronouncedly "Modernist," and is very fairly characterized by Julian as follows: "A considerable proportion of the pieces are really undogmatic religious verse, often of great beauty and significance, and gathered from a wide circle of English and American authors; but even less suited for public worship than the doctrinal hymns in the earlier Congregational books." Only 227 of the hymns in Hunter's book are found in the "Congregational Church Hymnal."

In 1894 Rev. W. G. Horder edited an interesting volume of "Hymns Supplemental to existing Collections," 239 in number; the work of 148 authors and translators, of whom a considerable number are American. The book was useful in that it introduced to English readers many good hymns—chiefly of a meditative or an ethical type—which were previously unfamiliar.

No other hymn-book of any importance appeared in Congregational circles till 1905, when Mr. Horder produced a revised edition of his "Congregational Hymns" under the title of "Worship Song." Indeed the revision was so thorough as to constitute practically a new book; for of the authors and translators represented in the book of 1884 no less than 70 disappear, and are replaced by 83 others. "Worship Song" contains 803 hymns by 345 authors and translators, 18 hymns being anonymous. Appended are 149 psalms and canticles for chanting, and 134 anthems, the whole being furnished with music. The older writers are much less conspicuous than in the former book; Watts only appears 14 times, C. Wesley 15, Doddridge 4, Cowper 6, Newton 4, Conder 5: on the other hand we find Bonar, Faber, Ellerton, Gill, Lynch, Monsell, Montgomery, and Rawson, on an average about 15 times apiece, while American names are frequent. S. Longfellow appears 10 times, Hosmer 12, and Whittier 25. About 40 of the contributors are Unitarians, and their contributions are 103. Still, the general complexion of the book, though "Broad," is certainly *not* Unitarian.

It is perhaps scarcely worth while to mention a purely local book, the "Hymnal," compiled by Rev. J. C. Martin, of Portsmouth; of which a seventh edition, making up 11,000 copies, was printed in 1906. It contains 593 hymns, alphabetically arranged, and is strongly Calvinistic, but contains a few pieces of considerable beauty by little-known writers. Of a totally different character is "The Song-Companion to the Scriptures," compiled by Dr. G. Campbell Morgan. Of the 610 hymns which it contains

many have little of literary quality to commend them; nevertheless the book is well suited for its avowed purpose—"to meet the demand created by the growth of the Bible-school movement." The compiler had also in view the needs of assemblies "unaffiliated with any of the great Denominations . . . who would object to using any hymnal which bears a denominational stamp." As a Mission hymn-book it seems likely to be very useful.

Congregationalism is an Ecclesiastical, not a Theological system, and is congruous with any school of religious thought which repudiates the priest, and insists on personal reliance on and loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ. No doubt for several generations the dominant creed of the Congregational Churches was more or less pronounced Calvinism; but the "Rivulet" controversy of 1855–6 made it evident that this was no longer the case. Indeed in our day the churches embrace almost every shade of theological opinion, from Calvinism to Universalism, and from Athanasian Orthodoxy to something not easily distinguishable from Unitarianism. In general there are two distinct—even antagonistic—schools of thought, one of which may for convenience be called Conservative or Evangelical, and the other Advanced or Modernist. Many hymns which are highly valued and constantly used by the former school are useless and positively offensive to the latter.

About 1909 it began to be said that the "Congregational Church Hymnal" was no longer quite satisfactory, and that there was need of some means for bringing into general use many excellent hymns of more recent origin. The question arose, Is a Supplement desired, or an entirely new book? And the marked preference shown for the latter by the "Advanced" school seemed to indicate a wish not merely to make modern hymns generally available, but to withdraw from notice, as much as possible, those older hymns which were distasteful to Modernism. Eventually the task of compiling a new book was entrusted to a committee on which both schools were fairly represented, and which included literary and musical experts. Six years were spent in honest endeavour to produce a result satisfactory to both parties, and the inevitable outcome was a compromise—how far generally acceptable remains to be seen. The "Congregational Hymnary," published in the summer of 1916, contains 771 hymns, 116 chants and canticles, and 117 well-selected anthems. Of the hymns about 500 are identical with as many in the "Congregational Church Hymnal." The hymns are the work of 328 authors and 28 translators, of whom 227 are represented by a single hymn apiece: 16 of the English hymns and the originals of 14 translations are anonymous. An interesting feature is the presence of a selection of Christmas Carols, some of them traditional, and of a large proportion of so-called "ethical hymns." By way of comparison with

the "Congregational Church Hymnal" we may give the number of hymns assigned to the largest contributors. Charles Wesley comes first with 32 and Watts next with 24 (as against 42 and 62 in the older compilation); Montgomery has 19 hymns, Bonar and How 16 each; Neale 16, all translations; Ellerton has 12, Doddridge and Whittier 11 each, and Cath. Winkworth 11 translations; Rawson contributes 10, C. F. Alexander, H. E. Lewis, Lynch, Monsell, and Newton each 9; Cowper, Caswall, Gill, Hosmer, Lyte, Ray Palmer, and Thring 8 apiece; while Baker, Conder, Faber, Heber, Havergal, Keble, and S. Longfellow each yield 7 to the total. Of the authors, 20 are professed Unitarians, and their contributions number about 50, of which, however, a large proportion have long been familiar in Evangelical hymn-books. On the other hand about 50 contributors to the "Congregational Church Hymnal" are totally unrepresented in the later publication. Unquestionably the "Hymnary" contains much that is both new and valuable, but whether this might not have been better supplied by means of an appendix is a point on which there is very wide difference of opinion.

The Ancient Merchants' Lecture

THE "Ancient Merchants' Lecture" is an interesting survival from the days when English Nonconformity was engaged in a struggle for existence, in which the Indulgence of 1672 first afforded an earnest of victory. Within a few weeks of its publication application was made on behalf of two silenced ministers, Anthony Palmer and George Fownes, for licence to preach in what was called "The Glass House," a part of the old Augustinian Monastery, which in the time of Queen Elizabeth had been used by a firm of Venetian glass-workers. More recently it had been bought hy the Pinners' Company (makers of pins and needles), which had been incorporated by Charles I in 1636, and had thus acquired the name of "Pinners' Hall." It was located in a court opening from Old Broad Street; had a floor area of "17 squares," i.e. 1,700 sq. feet—say about 45 ft. by 36, and had galleries in two tiers on three of its sides. Whether Palmer and Fownes obtained the desired licence is very doubtful; their application is dated 18th April; there is no record of a licence being granted in accordance therewith, but on the very next day they were licensed to preach in the house of John Savage on London Bridge. Professor G. L. Turner is decidedly of opinion that the licence for Pinners' Hall was refused, but it is certain that not long after, licence or no licence, it was occupied by the applicants and their congregation, who held it on a lease which only expired in 1778.

The Society to which Palmer and Fownes ministered was of the Congregational order, including both Baptists and Pædobaptists. Four other ministers followed

them in succession, the last two of these being Unitarians; and the society was only disbanded when the lease expired. But they were not the sole occupants of the hall; indeed they only used it on Sunday mornings. In the afternoon another Independent society occupied it till 1704, Dr. Watts's congregation from 1704 to 1708, a Particular Baptist society from 1708 to 1723, and after an interval a congregation of General Baptists from 1741 to 1778. Beside these, it was used on Saturdays by a society of Seventh-Day Baptists from 1686 to 1727. Before the end of 1672, several wealthy merchants and tradesmen, desiring to support the doctrines of the Reformation against the prevailing errors of the day, and to show the substantial agreement in all essentials of Presbyterians and Independents, resolved on establishing a weekly lecture, to be preached by the most distinguished and popular ministers of both denominations. No attempt was made to provide a permanent endowment, the promoters feeling sure that adequate means for necessary expenses would always be forthcoming; and it was arranged that the lecturers should be chosen by vote of the subscribers. The lectures were to be delivered on Tuesday about midday; and whatever may be the fact as to the licensing of the building, all authorities agree that from the first the place was Pinners' Hall.

The lecturers first appointed were Dr. Thomas Manton, Dr. Wm. Bates, Mr. Richard Baxter, and Mr. Wm. Jenkyn, all reputed Presbyterians, and Dr. John Owen and Mr. John Collins accounted Independents. The lectures were largely attended; some constant hearers were accustomed to come from considerable distances, one Amos Harrison, from as far as Croydon. Within a couple of years, however, the institution was imperilled by *odium theologicum*. Mr. Baxter had preached from "Ye will not come unto Me, that ye may have life," pointing out that the perdition of sinners is due not to the purpose of God,

but to their own guilt. As some hyper-Calvinists took exception to this discourse, he followed it up with another on, "Without Me ye can do nothing," and his critics being still dissatisfied, he printed a broadsheet entitled, *An Appeal to the Light.* Dr. Manton severely rebuked those who had misrepresented Baxter, and the dispute was allayed for a time, but only to break forth more violently twenty years later. This was in connection with the Antinomian Controversy, of which a sufficient account may be found in *C.H.S. Trans.* vol. vi, pp. 389–396. It is enough here to say that in 1694 the four Presbyterian lecturers, Dr. Bates, John Howe, Vincent Alsop, and Daniel Williams withdrew from Pinners' Hall, and, associating with them Richard Mayo and Dr. Annesley, set up a rival lecture at Salters' Hall. The two Independents who remained, Thomas Cole and Matthew Mead, were reinforced by Nathaniel Mather, Timothy Cruso, Stephen Lobb, and Thomas Gouge, all high Calvinists. The lecture at Salters' Hall continued with varying fortunes till about 1788, when it dwindled to nothing; its collapse being largely due to the tendency toward Unitarianism that was manifested by several of the latest lecturers.[1] The original Pinners' Hall lecture, through many vicissitudes, has continued to this day. On the expiry of the lease in 1778 it was held for a short time at the meeting-house in Little St. Helens, but in the same year was transferred to New Broad Street, where it continued for sixty-five years, viz., till 1844. From that time onward it has led a migratory existence, and more than once the paucity of hearers has provoked serious thoughts of discontinuance. But these thoughts have been overborne by the recognition that there are certain charitable trusts the administration of which is committed to the lecturers.

[1] The last of these were Revs. Rice Harris, Dr. Andrew Kippis, Dr. Richard Price, Dr. Abraham Rees, Thomas Tayler, and Hugh Worthington.

In 1844 the meeting-house in New Broad Street having ceased to be available, the lecture was transferred to Poultry Chapel; again, for the same reason, to the Weigh House Chapel in 1869, and once more to Finsbury Chapel in 1883. Yet another removal became necessary in 1889, when this place was also closed. All these removals, with one exception, were due to the successive demolition of the several meeting-places, either with a view to street improvements or as a result of the abominable system of building leases.

From 1889 to 1898 the lectures were delivered in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street; then till 1906 in the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, and from 1906 to 1908 in the Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road, once associated with the ministry of Whitefield and Toplady. Here the attendance was usually meagre, and it was thought best to return to the Memorial Hall. Then it was suggested that "if the merchants will not come to the lecture, the lecture shall go to the merchants"; and from 1912 to 1917 short courses were delivered, usually in the evenings, in various suburban churches. By this means new interest was excited; but the managers felt that an institution which originated in the City, and was for more than a century a conspicuous feature in the religious life of the City, ought not to be permanently dissociated from the City. Towards the end of 1917 therefore, by arrangement with the Stationers' Company, the lecture was recommenced in their commodious Hall, it being intended that this shall be its usual meeting-place, but that there shall also be occasional short courses in suburban churches. The time of the lecture has varied considerably. At Pinners' Hall it was every Tuesday; in 1864 it was only the Tuesday after the first Sunday in each month; in 1877 it was again every Tuesday, and the same in 1900, except that there was a vacation from the end of June to the end of September. Arrangements for the future will depend on the success of the present experiment.

We now proceed to give a list of the lecturers from the beginning, so far as we have been able to ascertain, together with the titles of their most notable publications. The dates suggest a possibility that one or two names may be missing; any information on this point will be welcomed.

1. Thomas Manton, D.D.[1] Ejected from St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Works numerous, reprinted in 22 vols. 8vo, include Commentaries on James and Jude, and courses on the Lord's Prayer, Ps. 119, Isaiah 53, and Hebrews 11. D. 1677.
2. Richard Baxter.[1] Ej. Kidderminster, Works numerous, about 150 titles. His *Christian Directory* is a code of Puritan Casuistry; his *Catholic Theology* an attempt to mediate between Calvinism and Arminianism; but best known are his *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, *Reformed Pastor*, and *Call to the Unconverted*. D. 1691.
3. William Jenkyn,[1] Ej. Christ Church, Newgate St.; aftwd. minstered in Jewin Street. Works, *A Commentary on Jude* and some sermons. D. 1685.
4. William Bates, DD.[1] Ej. St. Dunstan's, Fleet St., aftwd. min. at Hackney. Works col. in 1 vol. folio; most important, *Harmony of the Divine Attributes* and *Spiritual Perfection*. Retired 1694. D. 1699.
5. John Owen, DD. Ej. deanery of Christ Church, Oxford; aftwd. min. in Leadenhall St. Works rptd in 28 vols. 8vo; most important, *On Indwelling Sin in Believers*, *On the Glory of Christ*, *The Duty of being Spiritually Minded*, *Exposition of 130th Psalm*, and *Commentary on Hebrews*. D. 1683.
6. John Collins; formerly chaplain to Genl. Monk: aftwd. min. in Lime Street. Publications unimportant. D. 1683.
7. John Howe, M.A. Ej. Great Torrington; aftwd. min. Silver Street: Apptd. 1677, retired 1694. Wks. rptd in 7 vols. 8vo and 2 posthumous; most important, *The Redeemer's Tears*, *The Living Temple*, *Of Delighting in God*, *The Carnality of Religious Contention*, and some sermons. D. 1705.
8. Matthew Mead, Ej. Stepney, aftwd. min. there: Apptd. 1683. Works not numerous. *The Almost Christian Discovered*, and some occasional sermons. D. 1699.
9. Vincent Alsop, Ej. Wilby, Northants; aftwd. min. in Westminster: Ap. 1687, ret. 1694. Works mostly controversial. D. 1703.

[1] These were Presbyterians; all the rest Independents.

10. Thomas Cole. Ej. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford ; aftwd. min. at Cutler's Hall and Silver Street : Ap. 1687. Chief works (both preached at M. Lect.). *A Discourse of Regeneration, Faith, and Righteousness,* and *A Disc. of Christian Religion.* D. 1697. [See *Trans.* iv, 233.]
11. Daniel, Williams, D.D. New Broad Street : Ap. 1694, ret. same year. Works mostly controversial. Founder of Williams's Library, etc. D. 1716.
12. Nathaniel Mather. Lime Street—(Paved Alley) : Ap. 1694. Publ. *23 Sermons pr. at Mercht. Lect.*, and some controversial pieces. D. 1697
13. Timothy Cruso.[1] Poor Jewry Lane : Ap. 1694. Published *24 Sermons pr. at Pinners' Hall*, etc. D. 1697.
14. Stephen Lobb. Fetter Lane, and tutor at Newington Green : Ap. 1694. Works mostly controversial. D. 1699. [See *Trans.* iii, 284.]
15. Thomas Gouge. Three Cranes : Ap. 1694. No works of importance. D. 1700.
16. John Singleton, M.D. Silver Street : Ap. 1696. Works unimportant. D. 1706.
17. John Nesbitt. Hare Court : Ap. 1697. Publ. only a few sermons. D. 1727.
18. Matthew Clarke. Miles Lane, and asst. at Hare Court : Ap. 1697. Publ. only a few sermons. D 1726.
19. John Galpine. Stepney : Ap. 1699. Publ. nothing. D. 1712.
20. Thomas Rowe. Girdlers' Hall, and tutor at Newington Green and Clapham : Ap. 1699. Publ. nothing. D. 1705.
21. Richard Taylor. Pavement, Moorfields : Ap. 1700. Publ. several vols., theological and practical. D. about 1721.
22. Francis Glascock. Hanover St., Long Acre : Ap. 1705. D. 1706. His *Treatise on the Two Covenants* is posthumous. [See *Trans.* iii, 284.]
23. John Collins, Jun. Lime Street (Paved Alley) : Ap. 1706. He published nothing. D. 1714.
24. Thomas Ridgley, D.D. Three Cranes, and tutor in the Fund Board Academy : Ap. 1706. Author of *A Body of Divinity* and other doctrinal treatises. D. 1734.
25. Thomas Bradbury. Fetter Lane, aftwd. New Court : Ap. 1712. His works are mostly sermons, of which *The Mystery of Godliness* contains 61 ; *The Power of Christ over Plagues and Health*, 10 ; *Concerning Offences, 28 preached at Pinners' Hall* ; also several on the 5th November. D. 1759.
26. Robert Bragge. Lime Street (Paved Alley) : Ap. 1714. Author of *Essay concerning the Soul of Man*, and *Church Discipline in Primitive Times.* D. 1738.
27. John Foxon. Girdlers' Hall : Ap. 1717. Not known as an author. D. 1723.

28. Thomas Hall. Moorfields: Ap. 1762. Only published a few sermons. D. 1762.
29. John Hubbard. Stepney, and tutor for King's Head Society: Ap. 1726. No publications mentioned. D. 1743.
30. John Hurrion. Hare Court: Ap. 1727. His principal works are *The Knowledge of Christ and Him Crucified*, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, and two vols. of *Pinners' Hall sermons*. D. 1731.
31. Peter Goodwin. Rope-Makers' Alley; formerly Yarmouth: Ap. 1732. Only published a few sermons. D. 1747.
32. John Guyse, D.D. New Broad Street; formerly Hertford. Ap. 1734. Author of *The Practical Expositor*—(a paraphrase on the New Testament), and several controversial works. D. 1761.
33. Richard Rawlin. Fetter Lane: Ap. 1738. His chief publication is *Christ the Righteousness of His People*, delivered in several lectures at Pinners' Hall. D. 1757.
34. Zephaniah Marryat, D.D. Zoar Chapel, Southwark; and tutor at Plasterers' Hall, on the Union of the Fund Board and King's Head Society Academies: Ap. 1743. Not a prolific author; we have only met with two small treatises relating to the Salters' Hall controversy. D. 1754.
35. William King, D.D. Hare Court: Ap. 1748. He never appeared in print. D. 1769.
36. Samuel Pike. Three Cranes: Ap. 1754. Joint author with Samuel Hayward of *Religious Cases of Conscience answered in an Evangelical Manner*. A correspondence between him and Robert Sandeman ended in his adopting the peculiar views of the latter, and in his exclusion from the lectureship in 1759. [See also *Trans.* iv, 230.] D. 1773.
37. Samuel Brewer. Stepney; and tutor at Mile End: Ap. 1758. Not conspicuous as an author. D 1796.
38. John Conder, D.D. Pavement, Moorfields; and tutor at Mile End: Ap. 1750. Publications not important. D. 1793.
39. Richard Winter, D.D. New Court: Ap. 1759. Author of numerous sermons, including nine on the "70 weeks" of Daniel's prophecy. D. 1799.
40. Thos. Gibbons, D.D. Haberdashers' Hall; and tutor at Mile End (aftwd. Homerton): Ap. 1761. Author of *Memoirs of Rev. Isaac Watts*, many sermons, hymns, etc. D. 1785.
41. James Webb. Fetter Lane: Ap. 1762. Printed only one sermon, but a vol. of sermons was published posthumously. D. 1782.
42. Joseph Barber. Founders' Hall, aftwd. Aldermanbury

Postern; and tutor at Mile End: Ap. 1769. His only publications were funeral and occasional sermons. Retired 1809, D. 1810.

43. William Bennet. Pavement, Moorfields: Ap. 1781. Principal works, *Memoirs of Mrs. Grace Bennet* (Wesley's Grace Murray), *The Gospel Constitution*, and some controversial tracts on the Origin of Evil. Ret. 1793, D. 1821.
44. Daniel Fisher, D.D. President of Homerton Academy. Ap. 1782. No publications of importance. Ret. 1803, D. 1807.
45. Benjamin Davies, D.D. Fetter Lane. and tutor at Homerton: Ap. 1785. Published only a few occasional sermons. Ret. 1795, D. 1817.
46. John Clayton. King's Weigh House: Ap. 1793. Published various sermons and pamphlets, some of which excited controversy. D. 1843.
47. John Goode. White's Row, Spitalfields: Ap. 1795. No publications known. D. 1831.
48. George Ford. Stepney: Ap. 1796. No recorded publications. D. 1821.
49. John Humphreys, LL.D. Union St., Southwark: Ap. 1799. Published nothing of importance. Ret.?[1] D. 1837.
50. George Burder. Fetter Lane, formerly Coventry: Ap. 1806. One of the founders of the Missionary Society. Author of *Cottage, Village, and Sea Sermons*; *Sermons to the Aged*; *Missionary Anecdotes*, etc. Editor of a Hymn Book which reached a 28th edition. D. 1832.
51. Robert Winter, D.D. New Court: Ap. 1809. Author of *Pastoral Letters on Nonconformity*, numerous sermons, etc. D. 1833.
52. John Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S., etc. President of Homerton College: Ap. 1821. Of his numerous works the most important were *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah* and *Relation between Scripture and some parts of Geological Science*. His *First Lines of Christian Theology* was posthumous. D. 1851.
53. Joseph Fletcher, D.D., Stepney: Ap. 1829. Author of various tracts, lectures, and sermons. D. 1843.
54. Henry Foster Burder, D.D. Hackney: Ap. 1829. Author of *Lectures on the Pleasures and Essentials of Religion*, *Mental Discipline*; *Law of the Sabbath*, etc. D. 1864.
55. George Clayton. Walworth: Ap. 1831. Publications mostly sermons. D. 1862.
56. Thomas Binney, LL.D. King's Weigh House: Ap. 1833. Works, above 40 titles, some controversial, besides two vols. of sermons. The most notable are *Dissent not*

[1] Date of retirement not given in available records.

Schism, Micah the Priest-maker, Is it Possible to Make the Best of Both Worlds ; Money ; Maidens and Mothers, etc. Ret. 1872, D. 1874.

57. Robert Vaughan, D.D. Kensington: Ap. 1842. Works numerous, including *Life and Times of John de Wycliffe ; Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty ; Revolutions in English History ; English Nonconformity,* etc. Ret. ? D. 1868.
58. John Blackburn. Pentonville : Ap. 1843. Not a prolific writer. D. 1855.
59. Samuel B. Bergne. Poultry Chapel : Ap. 1850. Writings not important. Ret. ? D. 1880.
60. Samuel Martin. Westminster : Ap. 1857. Publications mostly sermons. Ret. 1875, D. 1878.
61. James Spence, D.D. Poultry Chapel : Ap. 1854. Author of *The Intercessory Prayer of Our Lord, Sunday Mornings with my Flock,* etc. Ret. 1871, D. 1876.
62. James Sherman. Surrey Chapel : Ap. 1856. Published *Memoir of Mrs. Sherman, The Christian's Death and Heaven,* various sermons, etc. D. 1862.
63. Thomas W. Aveling, D.D. Kingsland : Ap. 1856. His chief work is *Memoirs of the Clayton Family.* D. 1884.
64. Alexander Raleigh, D.D. Canonbury : Ap. 1862. Author of volumes on Jonah and Esther, and several vols. of sermons, *Quiet Resting-places* being the most popular. D. 1880.
65. Chr. Newman Hall, LL.B., D.D. Surrey Chapel ; aftwd. Christ Church : Ap. 1863. Works, about 20 titles, 3 of them poetical, including *A Practical Meditation on the Lord's Prayer* and *The Land of the Forum and the Vatican.* Of his tract *Come to Jesus* over a million copies were circulated. His Autobiography is notable for its strange omissions. D. 1902.
66. James Baldwin Brown, B.A. Claylands : Ap. 1871. His works include *The Divine Life in Man ; The Soul's Exodus and Pilgrimage ; The Higher Life,* etc. D. 1884.
67. John Davies, late Hackney Gravel Pits : Ap. 1872. Ret. 1874, D. 1894.
68. Henry Allon, DD. Islington, Union Chapel : Ap. 1876. Publications, mostly sermons, also *Memoir of Rev. Jas. Sherman.* D. 1892.
69. John Kennedy, D.D. Stepney. Ap. 1878. His numerous works include *A Popular Handbook of Christian Evidences, Memoirs of John Morrison, D.D., Daniel the Prophet from a Christian Standpoint,* An Autobiography, etc. Ret. 1896, D. 1900.
70. Edward White. Kentish Town : Ap. 1880. Best known by his *Life in Christ only* and *Mystery of Growth ;* editor of *The Christian Spectator.* Ret. 1893, D. 1898.

71. James Guinness Rogers, D.D. Clapham : Ap. 1884. His writings are mostly controversial. Ret. 1909, D. 1911.
72. J. Morlais Jones. Paddington Chapel : Ap. 1884. Published little except *A Cup of Cold Water, and other sermons.* Ret. 1886, D. 1905.
73. Alfred Rowland, LL.B., D.D. Crouch End : Ap. 1888. Author of an *Exposition of* 1 *Timothy*, and some vols. of sermons.
74. Alfred Cave, D.D. Principal of Hackney College : Ap. 1893. Author of *An Introduction to Theology*, *The Scripture Doctrine of Sacrifice*, etc. Ret. 1895, D. 1900.
75. James Morgan Gibbon. Stamford Hill : Ap. 1894. Author of an *Exposition on Galatians*, and several vols. of sermons.
76. Wm. Hardy Harwood. Islington, Union Chapel : Ap. 1895. Author of a *Life of Dr. H. Allon.*
77. Alfred E. Garvie, D.D. President of New College : Ap. 1909. Author of *The Ritschlian Theory*, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*, etc.
78. Thomas Yates. Allen Street, Kensington : Ap. 1917.
79. George E. Darlaston, M.A., Crouch End : Ap. 1917.

Considering that since 1672 not less than 5,000 discourses must have been delivered as *Merchants' Lectures*, it is somewhat surprising that so few of them have taken a permanent place in our theological literature. No doubt many of the divines above named have embodied the substance of their addresses in their published works : but it is doubtful if as many as a score of volumes have been made up of *avowed* "Pinners' Hall" or "Merchants'" Lectures.

As to the topics dealt with, they have been mostly of the ordinary sermonic type. Some, especially during the twenty years following the Revolution, have been controversial, others apologetic ; a few casuistical ; but these have usually dealt rather with such "cases of conscience" as deal with the doubts and fears of the inner life than with disputable questions of outward conduct. Where criticism has been ventured on it has mostly been of the conservative order. Of late, however, the tendency has been in the direction of greater freedom.

The London Itinerant Society

ON 8th December, 1796, about ten persons, ministers and others, met in the schoolroom of Surrey Chapel to consider the most effective means of propagating the Gospel in the towns and villages within twenty miles of London. It was unanimously agreed that a Society for sending itinerant preachers, instituting Sunday Schools, visiting the sick, and relieving the poor in the area specified was a desirable object. Some subscriptions were then promised; and within a few months schools were opened and preaching commenced at *Norwood*, *Lewisham*, and *Sydenham*. It was resolved "that every means should be used to obtain the patronage and support of the most respectable and zealous men, as Directors of the (proposed) Society."

As a result of these efforts, a meeting was held at the "Castle and Falcon," Aldersgate Street, on 14th July, 1797, Mr. David Kincaid, of Kingsland Road, in the chair. The steps which had already been taken were narrated, a plan for future management was read and approved, and the meeting resolved itself into a Society for the purpose above indicated. A provisional committee of 12 was nominated, who were to revise the plan, co-opt 19 other members of Committee, and convene another meeting to consider the plan as revised.

A General Meeting was held at the "Castle and Falcon" on 18th August, John Rainer, Esq., in the chair, when the revised plan was agreed to as follows:—

1. This Society shall be called the London Itinerant Society.

2. Its principal design is to spread the knowledge of Christ and His Salvation in the villages which are destitute of the Gospel within about *ten* miles of London, by opening Sunday Schools and prayer-meetings, by catechizing children, by visiting and relieving the sick and afflicted, by reading sermons, by distributing religious tracts, and by preaching in or out of doors as occasion may offer.

3. The Funds of the Society shall be supplied by monthly or annual subscriptions, by donations and collections.

4. Any person subscribing sixpence per month and upwards

shall be considered a member ; and every person presenting to the Society a donation of ten guineas or more shall be constituted a member for life.

5. A Treasurer, Secretary, and Committee shall be annually chosen.

6. The whole direction of the operations of the Society shall be vested in a Committee consisting of 31 members, seven of whom shall be ministers.

7. No person shall be accepted by the Committee to be employed in public exercises, who has not previously belonged to some Christian Society for the space of twelve months, or who cannot produce satisfactory testimony of his character.

8. Monthly meetings of the Committee shall be held at the "Castle and Falcon," Aldersgate Street, on the third Friday of every month, at six o'clock in the evening ; and any members of the Committee present at a quarter of an hour after the time appointed for meeting may proceed to business.

9. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held annually on the third Friday in January at the above place, at five o'clock in the evening, and oftener if necessary.

10. That a sermon be annually preached before the Society.

It was further resolved that at the annual meeting ten members of the Committee shall retire by lot, the number to be made up by ballot.[1]

James Neale, Esq., was requested to undertake the office of Treasurer, and Rev. William Francis Platt that of Secretary. The Committee was made up as follows :—

Original Nominees.—Revs. Messrs. Wilks, Eyre, Bryson, and Platt ; Messrs. Kincaid, Youl, Clark, Flint, Carter, Medley, Newsom, and John Smith.

Co-opted.—Revs. Barker, Durant, Williams, and Hill ; Messrs. Warner, Hoppus, Howard, Densham, Briggs, Brooks, Clarke, Cole, Lovell, Neale, Rainer, Wm. Smith, Whitaker, Yockney, and Thos. Wilson.

At a meeting of Committee on 1st September two Sub-committees, each of seven persons, were appointed: one for examinations, to meet monthly, and inquire into the experience, morality, and talent of persons desirous of being employed in the service of the Society ; the other to meet weekly and appoint the rounds of the various preachers and teachers : this latter to continue in office three months. It was reported that the work at *Lewisham* prospered beyond all expectation, and that the people there desired the building of a chapel, for which a site was available, but were unwilling to take any steps without the approval

[1] This rule was afterwards altered ; the Committee was made up to 40, the ten who made fewest attendances in the year retiring, and not being eligible for re-election. The number was subsequently reduced to 20.

and encouragement of the Society. This led to some debate, but at a later meeting it was resolved: "That it is not inconsistent with the principles of this Society to erect buildings for the worship of God, where absolute necessity may require them." Ultimately the Society agreed to co-operate with the people at Lewisham in building a chapel there—a decision which produced awkward complications.

In November the Committee for Examinations reported that they had approved of nine preachers and fourteen teachers, and that others had offered their services. During the first half-year of the Society's existence we find in the minute-book several notices of purchases of tracts, of 200 of Watts's hymns and of his Catechism, donations of tracts, and a grant of Bibles and other books from the Sunday School Society. The first of a long series of annual sermons was preached in Surrey Chapel on the third Sunday in January 1798, by Rev. Rowland Hill, the preachers and teachers participating in the Lord's Supper.

In February 1798 an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain possession of a disused meeting-house *between Mortlake and East Sheen.* About the same time the question was raised whether persons holding Baptist opinions were eligible as preachers, etc., in connection with the Society. After a month's consideration it was resolved: "That in the opinion of this Committee the Pædobaptists and Antipædobaptists can best serve the general interest of our Lord Jesus Christ by preaching and teaching among the societies of their own presuasion."

In the summer of the same year a meeting was commenced on Tuesday evenings for assisting teachers and preachers in their mental improvement, correcting educational deficiencies, etc. But after two years and a quarter it was discontinued, owing to the very small number of attendants.

On 17th August, 1798, it was represented to the Society that some of the preachers had been called before local magistrates, who had treated them with becoming courtesy, but advised them to discontinue preaching in the open air, as it was open to question whether (at that time) the practice was lawful.

On 21st December, 1798, it was reported to the General Committee that the people at some of the preaching stations were desirous of having the Lord's Supper ministered among them. The suggestion was favourably received, and it was referred to the Committee of Examination to select one or two of the itinerants who should be ordained for this especial purpose. But it does not appear that anything further was done in the matter till five years later.

The minute-book usually notifies the occupancy of a new station, especially where rent is paid or other expense incurred. But it does not always indicate the *discontinuance* of a station; the

preaching arrangements being in the hands of a Sub-committee, the presentation and approval of whose reports is recorded, without giving particulars. It is not, therefore, possible to give a complete list of all the stations occupied at any one time, or usually to state when a station was relinquished. We may, however, enumerate the several places occupied, in the order in which they appear on the minutes.

Dulwich. Some months before the foundation of the Society, Mr. Youl, one of its original promoters, impressed with the general ignorance and spiritual destitution of this village, began preaching in the open air. When the Society was constituted, it was proposed that this should be one of the stations, and in September, 1797, it was arranged that preaching should be carried on at Dulwich for an experimental term of twelve months. The success was not great, but the preaching was continued for several years. In April, 1809, it was apprehended that the work must be discontinued, as the lease of the house used for the purpose was about to expire, and the ground landlords, the trustees of Dulwich College, had resolved on a clause in all future leases forbidding the use of any part of their property for public worship. It was thereupon proposed to lease a piece of ground at the foot of Herne Hill for the purpose of building a meeting-house; but this project was abandoned when, in September, 1811, the objections of the ground landlords were withdrawn. The station continued to be supplied until 1828 or later, when a project of building a chapel came to nothing. The place ceases to be mentioned in the minutes about 1832.

Norwood (*West*). This was one of the earliest stations of the Society. It was carried on in the face of various difficulties for at least twelve years. In 1805 a freehold site was bought, on which a chapel was built. This was opened on 18th August, 1806, with sermons by Revs. W. B. Collyer and J. G. Frey. But soon afterwards steps were taken to dispossess the trustees on the ground of defective title. Lengthy negotiations ended in the surrender of the property, for which, however, a moderate compensation was obtained. A temporary meeting-place was also found, and after considerable delay a new copyhold site was secured, on which a school-chapel was built. This was opened with sermons by Revs. John Sibree, of Frome, and W. Chapman on 31st August, 1811. Afterwards the station was supplied by students from Hoxton, and the congregation so increased that by 1820 a larger chapel was necessary. In 1821 Rev. Wm. Low was called to the pastorate, and a succession of pastors has continued until now.

Lewisham. This was also one of the original stations; the Sunday School, commenced in 1797, is traditionally said to have been the first established in Kent. Preaching seems to have begun in co-operation with members of the Christian Society at Greenwich

Tabernacle ; it was carried on in fine weather on Lewisham Green, at other times in a cottage at Lee Bridge. A meeting-house was built on a leasehold site, and the cost was relieved by placing it over a cellar, which a firm of brewers engaged to rent for the whole term of the lease. The opening services were held on 1st October, 1798, Revs. W. Moorhouse, of Huddersfield, and E. Parsons, of Leeds, being the preachers. In a short time a demand was made for rates on an assessment of £30, but legal advice was taken to the effect that rates could only be claimed on the cellar, which was a source of income. Worship was frequently interrupted by ill-disposed persons. In 1799 the offender escaped with a reprimand, because the certificate of registration of the chapel was not at hand, and the preacher was not licensed as the law then required. Further annoyances of the like nature occurred in 1801 and 1805, when a reward was offered for the conviction of the rioters. The first Communion Service was held in July, 1804, Rev. W. Field officiating ; there were about a dozen communicants. In 1813 the congregation had so increased that additional space was needed. On 22nd May, 1816, a census of attendance was taken : Congregation, M. 93, E. 148 ; Scholars, M. 70, A. 80 ; Church Members, 18. Five years later there were symptoms of decline, and we read of "an effort to revive the drooping cause." The Society continued to supply the pulpit till the expiration of the lease in 1822, when a more commodious chapel was built, and placed on the Hackney College trust. For a few months it was supplied by Hackney students ; then Rev. Thos. Timpson was called to the pastorate. Under him and his successors the church at Lewisham has continued to enjoy great prosperity.

Sydenham, the fourth of the original stations, had Nonconformist traditions going back at least as far as 1707 ; but the old congregation had been dispersed, and the meeting-house, being private property, had come into the possession of an episcopal clergyman. In 1797 "a school had been opened, and some one appointed to preach at Sydenham." At first the preaching was in the open air, and the preachers were interrupted by ringing a bell and other annoyances. Then a tent was used, and after a time a cottage was hired. The work was continued in the face of much difficulty, attempts to secure a site for a meeting-house being constantly unsuccessful. On a Sunday in May, 1816, there were 16 scholars and 18 worshippers. But by 1819 a site was obtained, on which a chapel was built, and dedicated on 19th August. The Society continued both to supply the pulpit and to provide teachers for the school till August, 1825, when a Congregational Church was formed of twelve members. For seventeen years longer the Society provided preachers, and the station occasioned much anxiety, largely on financial grounds. At length, however, Rev. A. S. Ray, who had occupied the pulpit for

about a year, was called to the pastorate, and ordained on 6th June, 1843. Since then the church has had varying fortunes, but has now been for many years in a prosperous condition.

Streatham. In December 1797 it was agreed to rent a disused meeting-house at Streatham for an experimental term of one year. The tenancy was renewed from year to year, but without satisfactory results, and the station was finally abandoned in March, 1816.

During the years 1797–8 preaching was commenced at Scotland Green, Wimbledon, Mortlake, Barnes, and Ealing. In the two places last named there had been violent opposition, and the man in whose house meetings were held at Barnes had been much persecuted. But spiritual fruit had been gathered, and in some of the villages a desire had been expressed for the Administration of the Lord's Supper. This desire was represented to the Committee, who resolved that the wish ought to be satisfied, and that one or two of the itinerant preachers should be ordained for that purpose. But the matter was not proceeded with till some years later.

In the course of this year the Society took leave of two of its most energetic workers. Mr. W. Densham accepted a call to the pastorate of a Congregational church at Haslemere, where after a few years his useful ministry was abruptly terminated by a fatal accident. Mr. John Youl, to whose suggestion the origin of the Society is said to have been due, joined the first party of missionaries who visited the South Seas. He was on board the *Duff* when it was captured by a French privateer; he laboured in Tahiti from 1801 to 1807; returning to England he took orders in the Episcopal Church, spent his later years in Tasmania, and died there in 1827.

Of the stations first mentioned in 1798 :—

Scotland Green (near Ponder's End) was undertaken in April, but no further mention of it appears on the minutes, unless perhaps later *as* Ponder's End.

Barnes. In April a room was engaged and preaching commenced; there was violent opposition, and some downright persecution reported in July; nothing later.

Mortlake. The work of the Society here was highly encouraging. In 1802 an unsuccessful attempt was made to gain possession of an old chapel which had been converted into a dwelling-house. This failing, a leasehold site was obtained, on which a small chapel was built, and opened on 30th May, 1803. It was supplied by the itinerants till about the end of 1813, when Rev. W. Field was called to the pastorate. He ministered there until his death in 1816. Intimate relations continued between the Society and the church at Mortlake; but although the latter was "supplied" from 1816 to 1821, and again from 1827 to 1834, these supplies were arranged by the church, not by the Society. Rev. C. Riggs became

the pastor in 1834, and two years later the old chapel—built about 1718—was recovered, and the newer building converted into cottages. Since then there has been a succession of able ministers, some of eminence ; and in 1902, under the pastorate of Rev. E. E. Cleal, a handsome new church was erected.

Wimbledon. In 1798 the Society was invited to send preachers hither, and, encouragement being found in the result of a few experimental visits, the station was definitely adopted—a small grant being made for incidental expenses, owing to the poverty of the people. The work was difficult because of the inconvenience of the only room that could be hired and the impossibility of obtaining at a reasonable price a plot of ground on which to place a building. In 1812, however, arrangements were made for the erection of a chapel to be leased to the Society. This was carried into effect, and the chapel was opened on 17th August in that year. It was bought for the Society in 1819, the tenure being understood to be copyhold. Most of the references to this station have to do with the need of assistance to the Sunday School, grants of books, deficiency of teachers, etc., or with repairs to the building, disputes about fences and about a right of way, etc. But a few points are worth noting. In October 1823 the Dean of Westminster, who evidently had some authority in the parish, forbade the children to attend the Mission Sunday School, which was thereby reduced to 11 children. It was therefore resolved to hold services morning and afternoon and close the school unless local teachers could be found. In September 1836 the Secretary was directed to confer with neighbouring ministers about dispensing the Lord's Supper in the chapel. A year or two later it was deemed necessary to inquire into the actual tenure of the property. In March 1841 dissatisfaction is expressed at the distribution of Chartist tracts at a temperance meeting. In December 1844 the chapel was thoroughly repaired at a cost of £178. In 1847 the services were well attended, often not a seat vacant. The Sunday School numbered about 80 ; the superintendent had held that post for 25 years. Here the minutes cease, but the Congregational Year Books show that the station was "supplied" till 1867, then attended to for three or four years by New College students, and finally closed. There seems to have been some dispute between the deacons or trustees and the ground landlord or lord of the manor, which ended in the property being surrendered in consideration of a sum of money. This was banked by the senior deacon, and formed part of the purchase price of the land on which Worple Road Church was built; thus linking the present church with that which grew out of the work of the Itinerant Society.

Ealing. Here, from the first, was a large attendance and much opposition ; "but the work of the Lord appeared to prosper." In

September 1801 there was riotous conduct—stone throwing, battering of shutters, etc. The Society prosecuted the ringleaders, who tendered a written confession and apology, and were thereupon dismissed on payment of costs. In May 1802 it was proposed to build a chapel, but the suggestion was premature. In December 1805 rioting was renewed; nevertheless, the work prospered, and in September 1809 it was reported that there was "much encouragement. Some respectable persons in the neighbourhood would readily promote the building of a place of worship." In June 1813 it was reported that an offer had been made of a piece of ground and a sum of money to build a chapel thereon; but the minutes do not inform us why the project did not take effect. About this time there was some discussion whether Ealing should continue to be supplied by this Society or by another called "The Village Itinerancy." In May 1816 however, we find reported an attendance at Ealing of 60 in the morning, 100 in the evening, 30 at a prayer-meeting, and 110 Sunday scholars. Half a year later the numbers were diminished, but there were 19 communicants. The services were still held in a rented room, and the rent was deemed excessive. At length, in November 1819 the Society engaged to raise £100 towards the cost of a chapel if it were built and put in trust. In December 1821 it was resolved that the Society would continue to send preachers if desired, but expenses must be met locally. Finally it was reported in November 1822 that the long-talked-of chapel had been actually built. The only subsequent references to Ealing are as to occasional sermons.

The Annual Sermon to the Society was preached in 1799 by Rev. M. Wilks at Tottenham Court Road, and in 1800 by Rev. John Eyre in Islington Chapel. The records for these two years are largely occupied with matters of finance; though the services of preachers and teachers were all gratuitous, there were incidental expenses, and it was difficult to make income balance expenditure. During these years about eight new stations were undertaken; a proposal to establish one at *Datchet* being declined on account of the distance—24 miles from London.

Enfield Highway is first mentioned in February 1799. A Mr. Dagnal offered to the Society the use of his house without charge. He was a poor man, and in accepting his offer the Committee voted him a gratuity of two guineas. A room was also obtained for use as a school, which by April 1800 was overcrowded with from 100 to 120 children, so that more space was necessary. The preaching station and school were carried on by the Society till 1817, when a Rev. Mr. Hatch, minister of a neighbouring chapel, offered to take over the school, etc. This proposal was adopted in committee by the casting vote of the chairman, and strongly resented by the teachers, who

declared their intention of carrying on the school apart from the Society.

Garrett (the name, now almost obsolete, of a hamlet between Wandsworth and Tooting). In June, 1799, it was reported that a room had been rented at 2s. a week, where a school had been gathered of 60 or 70 children—"nearly all the children in the village." In 1808 a larger meeting-place was required, and in 1809 a resident presented five guineas to the Society "for the benefit he had seen resulting from the exertions of the Society, especially among the children." In 1815 it was suggested that J. Tozer, of Tooting, or Jas. Elvey, of Wandsworth, might take charge of the station. The former seems to have accepted the proposal, but he died in 1822, and the work fell again on the Society. In the spring of 1824, however, the station was discontinued, though worship appears still to have been carried on under local management.

Putney. A room was opened here in 1799 by the Surrey Mission; in July of that year the Itinerant Society made proposals for co-operation, which do not seem to have had any result.

Acton. In July 1799 a room was rented for an experimental term of three months, and the results appeared to warrant a continuance of the work. After six years the aspect of affairs was represented as "depressed and discouraging"; but a copyhold site was offered for building a chapel. In June 1816 the attendance was only 15 in the morning and 50 in the evening, with a school of 12 or 14 children; however, a committee was formed to try if it were possible to raise funds for building. The Society was at that time so burdened with debt, that it was compelled, reluctantly, to refuse assistance. In October the ground was bought, the estimated cost of a sufficient meeting-house was £350, half of which the people at Acton were ready to guarantee if the Society would provide the other half. In some unexplained way the necessary funds were raised, and the chapel was opened on 1st July 1817, and by October the morning congregation had increased to 70 and the evening to 150. Collections were made at most, if not all, of the Society's stations towards the Acton Building Fund. In the summer of 1821 the supply of the pulpit was arranged locally. The Society deemed it proper to arrange for the dispensation of the Sacraments, but what was done the minutes do not explain. A Congregational Church was constituted in 1823. The assistance of the Society in building the chapel at Acton was given on condition that the place should be properly put in trust, but owing to the obstinacy of one interested person, it was about twelve years before this could be effected! Nevertheless, Acton is to-day the seat of a large and flourishing Congregational Church, which has grown out of the work initiated by the Itinerant Society.

Bromley. A chapel had been built here in 1788, and a Congregational Church constituted in June 1790. The minister having resigned, and the church being in difficulties, application was made to the Itinerant Society for aid. Preachers were sent, but for two years there were difficulties and misunderstandings, debts were incurred for meeting which little or nothing was done locally; and more than once notice was given, that unless certain arrangements were made the Society would cease to supply the pulpit. There were long discussions as to the terms on which the Society would take over the lease of the chapel. About July 1801 the situation was cleared by the resignation of some trustees, and the appointment of others nominated by the Society.

In 1801, and again in 1804, expense was incurred owing to disturbances caused by disorderly persons during the time of worship. But from this time there were appreciable signs of progress; and in 1816 the congregations were reported as M. 55, E. 130, prayer-meeting 10, church members, 18, Sunday scholars 35. Until 1821, not only pulpit supplies, but teachers were sent by the Society, but thenceforward the latter were provided locally. About that time Rev. Mr. Browning, one of the Society's preachers, took up his residence at Bromley; and the church undertook the conduct of their own affairs under his superintendence. He died in 1827, and a similar arrangement was made with Rev. W. Holland, who took charge from 21 July 1828. As the lease of the site expired at the end of 1829, a new building became necessary, toward the cost of which members and friends of the Society collected £314. But there were still difficulties and cross purposes, until Mr. John Bromley—who for many years had preached almost every Sunday at one or other of the Society's stations, gave a freehold site on which a chapel was erected. This was dedicated on 1st December, 1835. But there were still disagreements, and a secession led to the opening of another chapel in January 1837. To this the Society was requested to send preachers, which was done for a few months, after which all further responsibility was declined. In May 1839 Rev. George Verrall was ordained to the pastorate of the original church, to which he ministered efficiently for twenty years. Under him and his successors the church has continued to prosper, and it is now one of the strongest churches in the southern suburbs.

Southend (between Lewisham and Bromley). In February 1800 an offer of a room in this hamlet was reported, and it was agreed to adopt it as a station experimentally for twelve months. In June 1804 it was reported that the room was found to be too small, and negotiations were entered into for a larger place, but with what success does not appear, nor how long the station continued to be supplied.

Merton. In April 1800 a request was received for preachers, the people engaging to defray all expenses. The station was taken for a probationary term of six months. It so prospered that in 1811 a gentleman offered to raise £500 for the building of a chapel. This project did not take effect, but in 1816 the house hitherto used was altered and adapted as a regular meeting-house, and a new front erected. In 1818 a Congregational Church was constituted of 45 members. Rev. A. Erlebach was called to the pastorate, and remained 16 years. A new and larger chapel was opened in 1840. There was a succession of ministers till 1904, when the church was in a very feeble condition. It was then adopted as a branch or mission by the church at Worple Road, Wimbledon, and the chapel refitted as a modern mission hall. This arrangement still continues.

Ponder's End. A Congregational Church in this village is said to have originated as far back as 1745. The pulpit being vacant in 1800, it was for a time supplied by the Society, which also conducted a school. In 1801 there is a note of a gratuity to the chapel-keeper, and in 1804 of thanks to the minister of Edmonton for co-operation. In February 1805 it is recorded that, a new minister having been appointed, the Society had ceased to send preachers to Ponder's End, but it was not till November 1813 that the Society handed over the management of the school to the local pastor.

In March 1801 the Society complied with a request of Rev. E. J. Jones to take under its patronage the school connected with Islington Chapel. In September the Society found it inexpedient to take over an offered room at *Leytonstone*, where work had been done by the Hoxton itinerants.

During the year 1801 much annoyance was caused by disorderly persons at various stations, especially Lewisham, Ealing, Bromley, and Ponder's End. It was resolved to post at the doors of the meeting-places printed extracts of those sections of the Toleration Act which impose penalties on such offenders ; and at Lewisham a reward was offered for evidence leading to conviction. Some prosecutions took place, usually with satisfactory results.

At the annual meeting in January 1802 it was stated that the aggregate congregations at the several preaching-places amounted to about 1,000 persons ; and there were 700 children in the Society's schools. It was thought that these numbers were restricted by the facts that some of the preaching-rooms were incommodious, or inconveniently situated, or rented from irreligious persons who had no interest in the aims of the Society ; and that meeting-houses should be built if adequate funds could be raised.

In June 1803 a Mrs. Compigne proposed to the Society to take over a Sunday School which she had commenced in *Pentonville*.

Discussions on the subject went on from time to time till near the end of 1805; but the minutes do not make clear what was finally decided.

In November 1803 the question was revived as to ordaining one of the itinerants, that he might dispense the Sacraments where desired. It was unanimously agreed that the most proper person for this purpose was Mr. W. Field. That gentleman took several months to consider the proposal, and it was arranged that the ordination should not be in public. It took place privately, in the vestry of Hollywell Mount Chapel, on 4th April 1804. For nearly ten years Mr. Field served the Society as an itinerant presbyter, until he was called to the pastorate at Mortlake. At the commencement of 1805 he was accustomed to administer the Holy Communion in six places, the number of communicants being 107.

In December 1805 there was a public Thanksgiving for the Victory at Trafalgar, and in many churches collections were taken for a "Patriotic Fund." Collections at the Society's stations at Lewisham, Mortlake, Streatham, and Norwood produced a total of £6 17s. 6d., which was duly paid into the fund. In the same month it was resolved that quarterly collections should be made at all the stations. These were 15 in number.

During the summer of 1806 negotiations took place with a view to amalgamation with the Hoxton Itinerant Society; but ultimately the proposal was declined.

In 1807 attention was called to the fact that Rule 7—requiring that no person should be employed in public exercises who had not been a Church member for twelve months—had not been strictly adhered to. The rule was modified, so that such a person, if of blameless character, might be employed for not more than six months.

The Report in January 1808 stated that the Society had 11 preachers ministering to 1100 hearers, of whom 110 were communicants. The teachers numbered 30, but the number of Sunday scholars had fallen to 600. In March of this year a small Subcommittee was appointed to select among the Society's preachers a suitable person to be ordained as colleague with Rev. W. Field. The Committee recommended Messrs. Howard and Warner; and on 5th May these gentleman were ordained at Silver Street Chapel "with the usual solemnities."

In February 1809 a request was made to furnish preachers for a congregation at *Harrow*, which for some reason the Hackney Academy was unable to supply. A temporary arrangement was made, which lasted till November, when it was found necessary to discontinue the supplies: at the same time proposals from *Isleworth* and *Halfway Street* (near Sidcup) were declined "as being beyond the bounds of the Institution." In January 1811

a considerable revision was made of the original rules, and inducements were offered to some of the stations to undertake the conduct of their own affairs. A little later in the year a plan was adopted for supplying shoes to poor children attending the Schools. At this time it had become customary to hold a *quarterly* communion service, in which the preachers and teachers participated. Considerable space in the minutes is occupied with arrangements for these services. During this spring the Society was requested to take charge of a vacant chapel in *Camberwell*: but a subcommittee to which the question was referred reported "that it did not appear to them consistent with the constitution of the society to take the place at Camberwell, as the Gospel is preached in various places in the neighbourhood." This year is memorable for the frustration of Lord Sidmouth's attempt to restrict the liberties of itinerant and lay preachers. In June it was resolved to make collections in all the stations toward the expense incurred in resisting his Bill: eleven such collections produced a total of £30 10s. 3d.

In August 1812 it was ordered that the Licences of the several preaching-places should be examined with a view to their being placed in safe custody. During this autumn there were disturbances at Acton, Wimbledon, and Enfield Highway. In repressing these the Society had the willing co-operation of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty; and an abstract of the Laws against Disturbers of Public Worship was printed and circulated. In December two stations—*Barking Side* and *Woodford Bridge*—hitherto supplied by an itinerant society connected with Sion Chapel were taken in hand. The latter of these was relinquished in 1822, a Wesleyan chapel having been built in the village.

Early in 1814 the Treasurer, Jas. Neale, Esq. died; and his place was taken by his son Benjamin Neale, who had for some time assisted him in that office. At the beginning of the next year, that gentleman being compelled by illness to decline re-election, the treasurership was undertaken by Andrew Birth, Esq.

Mr. Field having become settled pastor at Mortlake, and Mr. Howard being disabled by illness, a Subcommittee was appointed to select one or more of the preachers for Ordination. Messrs. Bromley and Reid were selected; but both declined, and nothing more was done in the matter.

The annual meeting in January 1815 was doubly interesting from the presence of Mr. John Youl, the originator of the Society, who had now spent several years as a missionary in the Society Islands. A little later a Subcommittee, appointed to look into the spiritual condition of the various stations, proposed a set of rules according to which each of the villages should be committed to the spiritual oversight of one of the itinerants,

who would thus hold a quasi-pastoral relation to the congregation. Whether this was adopted at any general meeting is not stated.

About this time the Society seems to have had considerable difficulty about finance; in many years normal income failed to meet normal expenditure, and the deficit was not always met by legacies and special donations. In 1814 the Society was very unwillingly involved in legal proceedings about a disputed legacy.

Endeavours were made in the course of the year 1814 to get several of the stations taken over by neighbouring ministers, but without much success. One difficulty was met by the offer of Rev. Geo. Evans to visit the various villages to dispense the Sacraments. There are several lacunæ in the minutes for 1816 and 1817, but we gather that it was a time of difficulty. Much space is taken up with financial matters, and with negotiations about the use of chapels for special sermons and collections. We read of an unsuccessful effort to obtain a preaching-room at *Leytonstone*, and of an experimental supply for a month only at *East Ham*. There was some negotiation about supplying a station at *Roehampton*, but it does not seem to have taken effect. A resolution at the Annual Meeting of 1816 recommended the establishment of a school for adults, to teach reading and writing, at each of the villages. This was done at *Barking Side*; but at other places the difficulties were insuperable.

In March or April 1817 a school was commenced at *Wandsworth Common*; preaching soon followed; and in half a year's time there were 30 scholars and a like number of adult worshippers. In July 1817 a proposal was made to build a chapel at *Barking Side*: this was successfully carried out, and the chapel was opened in June or July 1818.

(To be continued)

An Unpublished Letter of Oliver Heywood

IN Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, pp. 367–9, some account is given of one Richard Dugdil or Dugdale, of Surey (a hamlet in the parish of Whalley,) who was believed to be "possessed." Several meetings of ministers were held, about September, 1689, to pray for his deliverance; which, it is said, was at last happily effected. Some years later Thomas Jollie published a narrative of the case, under the title *The Surey Demonaic*, to which Zachary Taylor replied under the title *The Surey Impostor*, insinuating, not that Dugdil was an impostor, but that the ministers were impostors in claiming that the cure had been effected through their prayers. Hunter, of course, rationalizes the whole business.

Among the Birch MSS. in the British Museum (No. 4276), is an original letter of Heywood to Jollie, referring to the case. It is undated: but as Jollie's book is alluded to as submitted for Heywood's criticism, apparently before publication, it may be safely assigned to 1697. Unfortunately it is badly torn and worn, so that some words are missing, and others illegible, or only to be guessed at. But as it is not mentioned by either of Heywood's biographers—Fawcett, Slate, or Hunter—it seems worth while to print it word for word, with all its deficiencies.

"As to the book on the Surey Demoniac, I think in the main it's well. . . . There will be defects in all human attempts and atchievements; I shall be glad it may be mended, secundo cogitationes &c. There is one thing I am something hesitating in, in a discourse with the demon I see and read . . . in the substance of the narrative to prove the lawfulness of it; but I meet with a small piece of Dr. Hall's Practical Cases of Conscience, wherein he opposeth it. I had put something at the end of my sermon, but tore it out lest it should re . . . he saith doubtless to hold any fair terms of commerce or peace, much more . . . or familiarity with them was no better than to profess ourselves . . . we therefore (?) are wont by our silence to signify our heart burnings . . . person (in that we abide not with speak to those whom we hate) so . . . carry

ourselves towards evil spirits. And if they begin with us, as the . . . serpent with Eve, as that onset was unsafe, so may ours :—(1) because Scr . . . within us, but had none in them: (2) The fort that yields to parly is . . . (3) They are too crafty for us to deal withall. (4) They have great adv . . . in nature, they are spiritual wickedness, we flesh and blood; and in duration . . . or being but of yesterday, they coetaneous with the world and time . . . tell me that our Saviour himself interchanged some speeches with the . . . he ejected, it is easily answered that this act of his was never in . . . imitation since his omnipotence was no way obnoxious to this malice . . . weakness . . . if it be said that Paul spake to the pythoness, Acts 16 : 18, I . . . word of authority I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out . . . Such power now I think none will arrogate to themselves which Christ gave . . . Mark 16 : 17, 18. I need not mention Père Cotten that had provided . . . 50 questions to ask a demoniac. This will be censured for ungrounded sus . . . [*unintelligible*] fond curiosity as in [*? ?*] Lessines licitum est peti . . . diabolo ut nocem desinat: but what if hatred and abhorring be exp . . . nt in talking with him. I must confess that mitigates the matter . . . may be danger to bystanders 2 yea to ourselves, and 3 the latter . . . course is . . . the Lord as Paul in a later case, who prayed thrice and received a gracious . . . 2 Cor. 12 : 7, 8, 9. Yet he had power to eject evil spirits: but επέχις I . . . judgment of my brethren in this case, and if you and other think it ma . . . I am glad that there is such pungent and convincing proofs and tests . . . in confirmation of the Relation; there are notable things in it, many . . . parellel with John Wilson of Stopford, dispossessed upon my relatives . . . but my first wife gave me some account of it: instances great store . . . produced by Mr. Glanvil, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Mather, enow to silence the atheists . . . of the present day. Goe on, dear brother, be not discouraged by men's att . . . your testimony, and God will be with you, since you seek not private . . . publick good, not credit to yourself, but profit to many. Such m . . . censure and scorn: but how can they prove negation after and against you . . . are now going off the stage. My dear brother Mr. Nathanniel Vincent is . . . you are more at ease. I bless God I am better than I have been, but . . . an Exit if you come into Yorkshire, I pray we may see you and give . . . I sent your loving and . . . brother in law My nephew Nath. Heywood is with me. He tells me Mr. Taylor of Wigan is writing against this book, and wills . . . to prove it a cheat, and that Rich. Dugdil was trained up upon a popish design. I give you the hint that . . ."

State Prayers—The Niblock Collection

(*Continued from p.* 254.)

(IV) *A Form of Prayer to be used in London on the* 15*th and elsewhere on the* 22*nd January* 1661–2, *being the days appointed for a General Fast, "for the averting those Sicknesses and Diseases, that Dearth and Scarcity, which justly may be feared from the Unseasonableness of the Weather."*

Collect.—O Lord God, in whom we live, and move, and have our being; thou hast preserved us hitherto, and held our souls in life; yet givest us cause to fear, by this unseasonable weather, that Sickness and Mortality may ere long take us away: we therefore humbly beseech thee that thou wouldst send us such wholesome seasons, that we may continue in health and strength and safety, and use them to thy honour and glory through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[*In the Litany, after* "We humbly beseech thee, etc."]:—

Almighty and most merciful Father, we confess that for our many and grievous sins thou mightest most justly punish us with the continuance of unseasonable and unwholesome weather, and thereby bring upon us noisome diseases, dearth, and famine. But we most humbly beseech thee to accept our unfeigned sorrow for all our former transgressions, and grant that we may never hereafter so presume of thy mercy as to despise thy judgements, but that thy forbearance and longsuffering may lead us to repentance and amendment of our sinful lives, to thy honour and glory, and our eternal salvation at the last day: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

(V) *A Form of Common Prayer to be used upon the Thirtieth of January, being the Anniversary Day appointed by Act of Parliament for Fasting and Humiliation.* 1661.

[The Niblock copy is defective. *The Preface*, "Dearly beloved Brethren, etc." *proceeds as follows*]:—

i. ". . . And although we ought at all times, etc. . . . yet ought we most chiefly so to do when we assemble and meet together as at this time to afflict our souls in the sense of our manifold

iniquities and national provocations of God's heavy wrath and displeasure. Wherefore I pray and beseech you, etc. . . ."

ii. [*The first Collect*] "O Blessed Lord God, who with thy wisdom guidest and orderest all things most suitably to thy justice, and performest thy pleasure always in such manner that thou canst appeal to us whether thy ways are not equal: we thy poor wretched people fall down before thee, acknowledging the justice of thy proceedings with us; and that the amazing Judgement which this day befel us (in permitting cruel men, sons of Belial, to execute the fury of their Rebellion upon our late Gracious Sovereign, and to imbrew their hands in the blood of the Lord's Anointed) was drawn down by the great and long provocations of the sins of this nation against thee. For all which we sinful wretches have met together to humble ourselves before thee, imploring thy mercy for the pardon of them all, and that thou wouldst deliver this nation from blood-guiltiness, that of this especially: and turn from us and our posterity all those judgements which we have deserved. This we beg for the all-sufficient merits of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ."

iii. [*A second Collect*] Blessed God, just and powerful, that did as upon this day give up thy dear Servant, our late dread Sovereign, to the violent outrages of wicked men, to be despightfully used, and at length murdered by them: which though we could not then behold without the greatest astonishment, nor this day call to mind without horror, yet do we most gratefully remember the Glories of thy Grace which then shined forth in thine Anointed, and how thou wast pleased to own him in the midst of his Enemies and in the hour of Death, and to endue him with such eminent patience, meekness, and Charity, according to the Example of thine own Son exposed to the fury of His Enemies. And albeit thou didst suffer those wicked and cruel men to proceed to so high a pitch of violence against our late Sovereign, as to kill him and take possession of his Throne, yet didst thou in great mercy preserve his son, whose right it was, and whom at length in wonderful providence thou hast brought back, and set on his father's throne; for which we glorifie thy name through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

[*There was more in the same strain; in one place Charles is called "this thy blessed Martyr." A revised and mitigated form of this Memorial Service continued in use till about fifty years ago. A copy may be seen in any early Victorian Prayer Book.*]

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Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

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Contents

Editorial - - - - - - 329

Ordination, Primitive and Congregational - 330

The Defeat of Lord Sidmouth's Bill, 1811 - 344

A Congregational Consultation - - - 348

The London Itinerant Society - - - 350

William Cudworth and his Connexion (1717–1763) - 363

The Diary of an Ejected Minister - - 373

State Prayers—from The Niblock Collection - 381

Old Nonconformist Academies - - - 388

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EDITORIAL

OUR Annual Meeting, on 8th May, was clouded by the absence, through illness, of our esteemed Treasurer, Rev. G. L. Turner, M.A. He was thus unable to read his promised paper, and for the same reason was compelled to relinquish the treasurership of the Society. A hearty vote of sympathy, and thanks for long and valuable services, was passed unanimously. Mr. H. Thacker complied with the earnest request of the meeting to accept the treasurership, at least provisionally; and the other officers were reappointed.

Mr. Turner's paper, which is of great interest, is in the hands of the Editor, who hopes to include it in our *next* issue.

* *

War conditions led to the abandonment of the usual Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union; in consequence there was no Autumnal Meeting of our Historical Society.

* *

We have recently lost by death several members, two of whom have in time past been acceptable contributors to our pages. We have much interesting matter in hand awaiting publication, and trust that we shall continue to receive the support of our members, and that new subscribers will be forthcoming to fill the numerous vacancies which have been caused by death during the last two years.

* *

On 29th February 1820 Rev. Thomas Woodrow, late a student in the Glasgow Academy, was ordained as pastor of the Congregational Church at Annetwell Street, Carlisle—a church which originated in 1786, and is now located in Lowther Street. Rev. — Ivy of Brampton read a Scripture lesson; Rev. R. Wardlaw, D.D., delivered an introductory discourse; Rev. A. Jack of Whitehaven received the Confession; Rev. Greville Ewing offered the Ordination Prayer; Rev. — Scott of Hexham preached from 1 Thess. 5 c., 12–13 vs., and concluded the service. Little thought any who took part in that ordination that, near a hundred years later, a grandson of the young minister would be received with royal honours, and lodged in royal palaces, as the guest of kings and the constitutional ruler of one of the greatest nations on earth.

Ordination, Primitive and Congregational

[*The following essay was written at the suggestion of a distinguished theologian who, however, is in nowise responsible for the contents.*]

THE various kinds of ministry given by the Ascended Lord for the edification of the Church are enumerated in Eph. iv. 11 as Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers. These were not mutually exclusive, nor necessarily official. The great Commission in Matt. xxviii. 19, Mark xvi. 15, was not limited to an official class of Teachers or Evangelists; the whole Jerusalem Church was scattered, "except the Apostles," by an early persecution (Acts viii. 1), and its members travelled far and wide "preaching the Lord Jesus" (Acts xi. 19, 20). Timothy, undoubtedly a Pastor at Ephesus, was enjoined to "take heed to his Teaching," and to "do the work of an Evangelist" (1 Tim. iv. 16; 2 Tim. iv. 5). The ministry of Prophets, being essentially charismatic, was of necessity unofficial. The Apostles were at once Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers; and besides the distinction of a personal divine call had the special qualification of having been conversant with our Lord before His death, so as to be competent witnesses of His Resurrection (Acts i. 21–2). A succession of Apostles, therefore, beyond the second generation, was impossible. But the need of Pastoral Oversight in the Church was permanent, and was from the first assigned to a Class or Order of persons who are variously called Pastors, Elders, Presbyters, and Bishops (*i.e.* Overseers). There was also a subordinate class of Deacons (*i.e.* Servitors), to whom the eleemosynary and other secular affairs of the Church were entrusted. Usually each local church had a plurality both of Presbyters and Deacons, and the persons chosen for these offices were ceremonially "Ordained" by prayer and "Imposition of hands," either of the Apostles or of the Presbytery (*i.e.* the Eldership).

The first recorded Ordination is that of the seven deacons at Jerusalem, by "the Apostles," after election by "the whole multitude" of the disciples (Acts vi. 5–6). The next is that of Barnabas and Saul, who were already prophets and teachers. This was done in obedience to a divine monition, presumably by the elders

at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1–3); but it is remarkable that we are nowhere distinctly told by whom it was done. Next we read that Paul and Barnabas ordained (R.V. "appointed") Elders in every church which they had gathered in the Galatian cities (Acts xiv. 23). Subsequently Timothy was ordained by Paul and others (1 Tim. iv. 14 with 2 Tim. i. 6); and the ordination of Titus, though not asserted, is implied in Tit. i. 5, where Paul directs him to "appoint elders in every city" of Crete where a church might be gathered. Nothing is said about election, either in Galatia or in Crete; probably because the churches in those districts were in a very rudimentary condition. That Timothy received a commission similar to that of Titus is clearly implied, though not expressly stated, in 1 Tim. iii. 1–15.

The only other allusion to Ordination in the New Testament is in 2 Tim. i. 6: "Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee through the laying on of my hands." This seems to imply that while the *Ministry of the Pastor* was a gift of Christ to the Church, the *Office of the Pastorate*, with its opportunities of service and the grace necessary thereto, was His gift to the person ordained. An office so solemnly conferred could not be lightly laid aside.

Turning to the earliest known extra-canonical Christian writing, the Epistle of Clement (A.D. 95), we read that the apostles "appointed the first fruits of their labours to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe" (xlii.), and "gave instructions that when these should fall asleep other approved men should succeed them in their ministry" (xliv.). Nothing is said about Ordination; but the fact that some presbyters at Corinth had been ejected from office, or repudiated by a faction, without proven fault, was censured as highly scandalous. It is to be noted, moreover, that Clement finds an analogy between Christian Presbyters and the priests of the older dispensation.

In *The Didache*, about the end of the first century, the anonymous author directs his readers to "appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord"; but nothing is said about ceremonial ordination. Neither is there anything on the subject to be found in the writings of Ignatius (115), Pseudo-Barnabas (120), Hermas (140), Papias (163), Justin (165), Polycarp (167), Tatian (174), Athenagoras (177), or Theophilus (188), nor yet in the anonymous "Epistle to Diognetus," nor in the Martyria of Ignatius or of Polycarp.[1] This is the more remarkable because of an important development that took place early in the second century.

There can be little doubt that at first the Christians in each town were accustomed to meet in one place; but when believers were

[1] Hippolytus, about 236, calls bishops successors of the Apostles, participators in their "grace, high priesthood, and office of teaching," and "reputed guardians of the church." But his language does not necessarily exclude presbyters; and he says not a word about Ordination.

multiplied this became difficult, and in times of persecution impossible. Yet it was desirable strongly to emphasize the Unity of the local church ; and this seems to have been done by giving one of the presbyters a general oversight of the whole fellowship—a kind of primacy among his brethren. The person thus dignified was called *The* bishop, *par excellence*, and became the official representative of the whole church. Very soon there was claimed for him a degree of authority which ill accords with anything in the New Testament ; and in the epistles of Ignatius, about 115, we read, "We should look upon the bishop as we would look upon the Lord himself" (Eph. 6) ; and, "Your bishop presides in the place of God, and your presbyters in the place of the assembly of the Apostles" (Mag. 6). It was only natural that the bishop should take the most prominent part in every Ordination, and ere long it came to be thought that his presence was indispensable. Before many decades had passed the differentiation of bishop and presbyter was complete ; the distinction being that the one was, and the other was not, capable of conferring Ordination.

Now there must have been some one occasion on which, for the first time, a presbyter was ordained who was not to be a bishop. This must have been either under divine guidance or as a mere matter of human arrangement. If the former, it is inconceivable that so momentous an innovation should have been absolutely unrecorded; if the latter, it is hard to see why a precedent of the second century should be more authoritative than one of the tenth, or sixteenth, or twentieth.

It can scarcely be doubted that in the Primitive Church the Holy Communion was the central act of worship, holding a place much like that held by sacrifice in Jewish and heathen religions. A mystical identification of the Sacramental Bread and Wine with the Body and Blood of Christ is found both in Ignatius and in Justin : and this would lead men to think of the Sacrament as in some way Sacrificial. But sacrifice implies priesthood, and from the time of Justin a sacerdotal character was more and more ascribed to the Eldership ; and this though Justin merely calls the minister who dispenses the sacrament "the president of the brethren," and Irenæus (202) twice affirms that "All the disciples of the Lord are Levites and Priests."

The growth of Sacerdotalism in the Church during the next half-century was rapid, as was also the importance ascribed to prelatic Ordination. Probably the most potent factor in this development was the influence of Cyprian (258), who usually speaks of "priests" rather than "presbyters," and declares that "If any one be not with the bishop he is not in the church," and that "he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother!" It is not necessary further to pursue these lofty claims of priest and prelate, which are found on almost

every page of Cyprian, and which contain in embryo all the mediæval ecclesiasticism which had its full development in the spiritual despotism of Hildebrand and Innocent III.

Not only was the bishop regarded as a symbol and centre of local unity, a regular succession of bishops was deemed important as affording some guarantee for continuity of teaching. Great stress is laid on this, both by Irenæus (202) and Tertullian (220). But here we are confronted with a set of curious facts. While the New Testament records, or clearly implies, the regular ordination of the Jerusalem deacons, of Barnabas and Saul, of Timothy, Titus, and certain unnamed elders in Galatian cities, it does not name a single person who *was ordained by any of these.* There are stories of Apostolic ordinations in ecclesiastical romances, such as the *Clementines* and the *Recognitions*, and some Apocryphal Acts; but all these are certainly unhistorical. Irenæus tells us that Linus of Rome was ordained by Peter and Paul; Tertullian tells us that Clement of Rome was ordained by Peter, and Polycarp of Smyrna by John; and Clement of Alexandria (220) relates that John in his old age made a tour among the Asian churches "to appoint bishops . . . and Ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit"; no names are given by Clement, but in addition to Polycarp those of Onesimus at Ephesus, Damas at Magnesia, and Polybius at Tralles are highly probable. There seems no good reason for rejecting this testimony.

Platina, the mediæval historian of the papacy, affirms that Linus, in his capacity as bishop of Rome, ordained eleven bishops and eighteen priests; and that Clement, his successor, ordained fifteen bishops, ten priests, and two deacons. But *of all these fifty-six persons, not a single name* is forthcoming. Neither have we the name of a single person ordained by Polycarp, Onesimus, Damas, or Polybius.

From the time of Cyprian onward it was commonly believed that grace was mediated by sacraments, the efficacy of which could only be relied on if they were administered by a priest; and that his essential qualification consisted in a mysterious "Order" derived from the Apostles through an unbroken series of Episcopal Ordinations. But it is chronologically impossible that any contemporary of Cyprian could have been ordained by Timothy, Titus, Linus, Clement, Polycarp, the unnamed Galatian elders, or the Asian bishops said to have been commissioned by John. We have fairly reliable lists of the successive bishops at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome; but prior to 250 not a word about their ordination, except the instances above mentioned. Irenæus and Tertullian rely on *Succession in Office*, not on *Traduction of Order*, as witness to continuity of teaching; which is a very different thing. No chain is stronger than its weakest link; and whatever of truth there may or may not be in the doctrine of

Apostolical Succession, the chain of recorded Ordinations is not merely weak, it fails altogether in the second century. The result is that there is no priest or bishop of any church in Christendom, East or West, Reformed or Unreformed, who is able to *prove* the traduction of his own Orders in direct succession from the Apostles.

The spiritual dominion asserted by Ignatius and Cyprian, and developed amid the growing superstitions of the Middle Ages, came at length to claim control over every department of individual and social life, until by the beginning of the sixteenth century it had become intolerable. The Reformation assumed various forms in different countries. In Germany, Denmark, and Norway it followed the Lutheran pattern, retaining as much of the old-established order and practice as was not absolutely contrary to the teaching of the New Testament. In France, Switzerland, and Scotland the more radical Calvinistic idea prevailed ; the existing order was too bad to be mended, it must be ended, and a new foundation laid, conforming as nearly as possible to what was believed to be apostolic precedent. In Germany and Scotland there was a popular religious revolt against mediæval ecclesiasticism, which gladly accepted the aid and patronage of the civil power. In England there had long been a leaven of Lollardry working secretly in spite of ruthless persecution, by utilizing of which a despotic monarch was able to transfer to himself the ecclesiastical power which had long been exercised by the papacy. Incidentally, and for purposes of his own, Henry VIII favoured the circulation of the English Bible, whereby instruction was diffused, and the Lollard sentiment widely propagated. But ecclesiastical reformation was a State matter, which fluctuated with the varying dispositions of successive monarchs. The violent reaction and attendant persecution that occurred under Philip and Mary drove many of the English clergy into exile, and these, while on the Continent, became acquainted with various types of reformation. Not a few of them were strongly inclined to the Calvinistic discipline, which was in force at Geneva, and these, returning to England on the accession of Elizabeth, sought to promote a more advanced type of Reformation than found favour with those in authority.

Most of the early reformers—as Luther, Zwingli, Knox, Cranmer, etc.—had been regularly ordained as priests in the Unreformed Church, Calvin being the most conspicuous exception. How far these retained or rejected the mediæval belief that some mystic grace was conferred in Ordination, by which the validity of sacraments and the legitimacy of pastoral authority was assured, is not easy to say: but they certainly had no intention of refusing any grace which a legitimate ordination could confer. The Reformed Churches in Switzerland, France, and Scotland repu-

diated Prelatical Episcopacy; but they deemed it important that pastors should be "set apart" for their office according to Apostolic precedent, by "prayer and laying on of hands of the presbytery" (Acts xiii. 3, 1 Tim. iv. 14). This, whatever else it might or might not signify, implied that the pastor thus ordained was regarded as holding some kind of relation to the Church at large, and not merely to a particular congregation.

If, as these Reformed Churches maintained, and as seems clearly demonstrable from Acts xx. 17–28, the offices of Bishop and Presbyter are identical, Ordination by Presbyters *is*, in fact, Episcopal Ordination, and carries with it whatever virtue any kind of Ordination can possess. Nothing more, therefore, needs to be said about Ordination in the Presbyterian Churches, whether in Scotland, on the Continent, or in America, except that they all agree in its value as an element of discipline, as well as being a witness to the unity of the Church.

The refugees who at the accession of Elizabeth returned to England would have been satisfied with very moderate concessions. A "reduced episcopacy" such as was afterwards proposed by Ussher, the abolition or leaving optional of some ceremonies which they accounted superstitious, and a recognition of the people's right to some effective voice in the selection of their ministers, would have given them full satisfaction. But any such concession would have been deemed by the ruling class a surrender to democracy; the principle of authority must be upheld, and the common people kept in their place. For twenty years the Puritan party—as they now began to be called—strove in vain for further reformation: and at length a few eager spirits resolved to act for themselves. Foremost among these was Robert Browne, who, being a Cambridge graduate and licensed preacher, in 1579 repudiated the bishop's licence and still continued to preach until disabled by sickness. Associated with Robert Harrison he gathered a separatist congregation, with whom he retired to the Continent, and at Middelburgh, in 1582, published his epoch-making *Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any.* It is not relevant to our purpose to trace the history of the various Brownist, Barrowist, and other separatist societies of which fragmentary records remain. Suffice it to say that each was a sporadic effort to realize what was believed to be the New Testament Ideal. The lack of any real spiritual discipline in the State Church had brought about such a confusion of the church and the world that a new church had to be constituted, and every separatist congregation was a separate attempt to constitute it. The theory was that a Church consisted of those "Christian believers which, by a willing Covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep His laws in One Holy Communion." Its government was not democratic but

theocratic ; it had no authority to receive or reject members, elect officers, or exclude the unworthy at its own pleasure, but only in each case "to learn for itself the will of Christ, and do it." Every society so constituted was "a true church," independent of, though holding fellowship with, every other. There was no such thing as a Visible Catholic or Regional *Church*, but only visible *Churches* ; and the officers of any one of these had no official relationship with any other. According to this view the only legitimate ordination would be the election of a pastor, deacon, etc., and the commending of him to God in prayer by those who were already official representatives of the same congregation. Browne, in his "*Booke which sheweth the life and manners of all True Christians*," says : "The Ordaining of some of the forwardest and wisest is a pronouncing them, with prayer and thanksgiving, and laying on of hands (if such imposition be not turned into pomp or superstition), that they are called and authorized of God, and received of their charge to that calling."

No doubt such an ordination would warrant the exercise of pastoral supervision over such as voluntarily submitted thereto ; and if it be true that "All the disciples of the Lord are priests," it would be difficult to challenge the validity of sacraments ministered by a "president of the brethren" so appointed. But obviously a Brownist Ordination could not be recognized either by Episcopalians or Presbyterians, inasmuch as the whole scheme repudiates not only the traduction of Orders but the Unity of the Visible Church.

Such was the theory: as to the practice of the early Independents we have little definite information. Browne's great experiment at Middelburg issued in a disastrous failure ; and if, as is probable but not certain, he afterwards became the pastor of a "gathered church" at Thorpe Waterville, he had in the meantime submitted to prelatic Ordination. As to others who are honoured as protagonists of Congregationalism, most of them had formerly held positions to which they would not have been appointed if they had not accepted Ordination from the bishops. This applies to R. Clyfton, J. Greenwood, Hy. Jacob, Henry Jessey, Fras. Johnson, J. Smyth, and John Robinson ; though several of these had adopted the Presbyterian theory before becoming Separatists. What ordination John Penry and Hy. Ainsworth had, if any, is not recorded. In some cases persons who had been episcopally ordained, and afterwards adopted Presbyterian or Congregationalist opinions, emphasized their change of attitude by renouncing their "Orders" and being formally re-ordained. One of the most noteworthy examples is that of Hugh Peters. He had been ordained by Bishop Montaigne (deacon 1621, priest 1623) ; but being persecuted on account of his Puritan leaning, he retired to Holland. In 1630 he was invited

to the pastorate of an English Presbyterian Church at Rotterdam, but would only comply on condition that the call proceeded, not from a miscellaneous congregation, but from a fellowship of godly persons united by covenant. The Church was therefore reconstituted on a Congregational basis, and Peters was ordained in the Presbyterian manner, all the ministers present except one uniting in the imposition of hands.

The colonists who founded Salem in New England disavowed any intention of Separation from the Church of England, "though," they said, "we cannot but separate from the Corruptions in it." But within a month of their settlement they united to form a Church by Covenant; and on 6th August 1629 (O.S.) they elected and Ordained their Pastor and Teacher, Skelton and Higginson, "regardless of the fact that both had received the established Ordination in the fatherland." This must have been a Brownist Ordination. The Church at New Plymouth had been notified "that they might have their approbation and concurrence, if not their direction and assistance." The Plymouth delegates arrived too late to participate in the actual Ordination; but "they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right hand of fellowship."

John Cotton had been for many years vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, having, of course, been episcopally ordained. He removed to New England in 1633, was elected Teacher of the First Church at Boston Mass., and was re-ordained by the pastor and two elders. Several ministers were present, but merely as witnesses, who after the benediction "did, at the pastor's motion, give him the right hand of fellowship." This was clearly a Brownist, or, as perhaps it may conveniently be called, a Fraternal Ordination. Such ordinations were usual among New England Congregationalists for at least two generations.

In May 1646 the rulers of Massachusetts expressed a wish that the Churches in the colony would send representatives to a Synod which should "clear up, by the word of God, such questions of church government . . . as they shall think needful and meet." Owing to a variety of circumstances it was more than two years before the Synod actually met. The document they drew up was called, from the place of meeting, "The Cambridge Platform"; and its recommendations had for many years *almost* the force of law in the New England churches. Ordination was therein defined as "nothing else, but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the Church, whereunto he had a right before by election." It was to be done by Prayer and the imposition of hands, to be performed by the Elders of the Church, if there are any; if not, by some of the brethren orderly designated by the Church for that purpose: yet if it be desired "we see not why Imposition of hands may not be performed by the Elders of other

Churches." But the minister so ordained had no official relation with any other church than that wherein he was elected; nor could he elsewhere dispense the Sacraments. And if he "was loosed from his office-relation," by resignation or otherwise, he ceased to be a minister unless he were "again orderly called unto Office": in which case he should be re-ordained.

In England, between the outbreak of the Civil War and the fall of the Commonwealth, many parochial ministers formed "Select Churches" within their own congregations, each being at once parson of the parish and pastor of the church. A well-known instance is that of Joseph Caryl. Most of these, if not all, had received either episcopal or presbyterian Ordination, the validity of which could not be well questioned by members of churches which they had themselves gathered. The same applies to churches gathered by Ejected Ministers after the Restoration; we do not recall any case of re-ordination of an Ejected Minister.

Nevertheless, the statements of the Savoy Declaration (1658) are very explicit, and closely coincide with those of the Cambridge Platform. The institution by Christ of "any Church more extensive or Catholique" than "these particular churches" is categorically denied; and "the officers appointed by Christ to be chosen and set apart by the church so called and gathered" are Pastors, Teachers, Elders, and Deacons. "The way appointed by Christ for the calling of any person fitted and gifted by the Holy Ghost" to office in the Church is "that he be chosen thereunto by the common suffrage of the Church itself, and solemnly set apart by Fasting and Prayer with Imposition of Hands of the Eldership of that Church, if there be any before constituted therein." It is added that Imposition of Hands is not indispensable; but "Ordination alone without Election or precedent consent of the church, by those who formerly have been Ordained . . . doth not constitute any person a Church Officer, or communicate Office-power to him." Moreover, "Where there are no Teaching Officers, none may administer the Seals (*i.e.* the Sacraments), nor can the church authorize any to do so." In this scheme there is no place for Presbyters at large; nor can one pastor supply the place of another who may be absent or disabled, or by invitation dispense the sacraments to a church which lacks a pastor, though the meeting-house be in the next street.

Illustrations of the principle and practice thus formulated are found in original records still extant, and published in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*. See for Canterbury (1646) vol. vii, p. 188; Staplehurst (1647) vol. vii, p. 190; Burwell (1694) vol. vi, p. 421; Bury St. Edmunds (1701) vol. vii, p. 3; Cambridge (1722) vol. vii, p. 12. It is worth noting that Rev. G. Doughty, the pastor of Burwell, is described in the Evans List as a lay preacher; presumably the compiler of that

list, being a Presbyterian, declined to recognize a mere Fraternal or Brownist Ordination.[1]

The notion that a Church could only receive the sacraments at the hands of its own duly ordained pastor survived the Cambridge Platform and the Savoy Declaration for well-nigh two generations. The church gathered by Joseph Caryl during the Commonwealth had as successive pastors Dr. John Owen, Isaac Leoffs, David Clarkson, and Isaac Chauncey, the last of whom resigned on 15th April, 1701. There were then in the church, besides Dr. Chauncey, two aged ministers, William Bereman and Edward Terry, both Bartholomew men, the latter of whom had been Chauncey's assistant. But on 19th May a resolution of the church affirmed that "for want of a Pastor we have not the Lord's Supper administered among us." It had already been proposed to elect Isaac Watts to the pastorate, but this was delayed on account of his illness, and the call was only accepted on 8th March, 1702. He was ordained ten days later; and on 29th March he dispensed the Lord's Supper, which had been intermitted since Chauncey's resignation nearly a year before. (See *Trans.* vol. i, pp. 30, 38.) Watt's Ordination, however, was not conducted in the Brownist fashion; four neighbouring pastors took part in the service, and two others were present, and testified their approval.

The Presbyterians regarded the Eldership as an *Order* instituted by Christ for the ruling and edifying of the Church, and Ordination as impressing a permanent character on the person so admitted thereto. A majority of the Independents, on the contrary, accounted it merely an *Office*, which was automatically relinquished when its duties ceased to be performed. It was natural, therefore, that these should insist on the Ordination taking place in the face of the congregation to which the chosen elder was to minister; while it was quite congruous with the Presbyterian opinion that several ministers should be ordained together, though they were to serve widely separated congregations.

We know but little about such Nonconformist Ordinations as took place during the years of alternate persecution and "Indulgence." Usually they were performed as privately as possible. When the Revolution brought in its train a large measure of religious freedom it was found that thirty years of persecution had led to mutual approximation of Presbyterians and Independents. The former had ceased to insist on the Divine Right of Presbytery, and many of the latter had come to see that the Brownist ideal, however admirable, was generally impracticable. Hence the "Happy Union" of the London Ministers in 1691, based on the principles set forth in the *Heads of Agreement* published in that

[1] Another case of Brownist Ordination, at Wellingborough on 3rd September 1691, is narrated in detail in Bogue and Bennett's *History of Dissenters*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 337.

year, and accepted as a basis of union between Presbyterians and Independents in many parts of the country. It was recognized as a fundamental principle that personal faith in the Lord Jesus is an indispensable qualification for Church Membership ; and that every local church has a right to choose its own officers and manage its own internal affairs. But the fitness of the ministry was seen to be a matter of wider concern than that of a single congregation ; and therefore it was "ordinarily requisite" that before calling a pastor a church should consult with pastors of other congregations ; that these should participate in the Ordination ; and that before doing so they should be satisfied of the character and ability of the person to be ordained.

A survival from the older and more rigid type of Congregationalism was the notion that a particular church could only call its own members to office. If therefore the services of one from another church were desired, he must first be dismissed from the fellowship in which he stood to that which desired his services before the call could be given. This refinement died out early in the eighteenth century.

The earliest Public Nonconformist Ordination on record took place on 22nd June, 1694, in Dr. Annesley's Meeting-house, Little St. Helen's. Dr. Annesley, Vincent Alsop, Matthew Sylvester, Daniel Williams, — Stretton, and Thos. Kentish (most of them Bartholomew men), then ordained Ebenezer Bradshaw, Joseph Bennett, Joshua Bayes, Edmund Calamy, Joseph Hill, and William King. The candidates having been previously tested as to their learning and orthodoxy, their testimonials were read ; each made his profession of faith ; a separate Ordination prayer was said over each one ; and a solemn Charge was addressed to them all. The entire service included three other prayers, two discourses, and a psalm ; and occupied fully eight hours, from 10 a.m. till past 6 p.m.

In several counties Ministerial Associations were formed, which held yearly or half-yearly meetings to consider matters of common interest : these, though destitute of coercive jurisdiction, exercised some of the functions of the extinct Classical Presbyteries, and by their "Advices" did much to "preserve love, peace, and order among the Churches." In some cases these "Meetings of Ministers" approved or disapproved of candidates for ordination ; or, as in the case of the Exeter Assembly, laid down rules as to the necessary qualifications of such candidates. Where such rules were not formally acknowledged, it was nevertheless accounted the duty of ministers called on to take part in an Ordination, first to satisfy themselves—either individually or in a kind of informal council—of the worthiness of the candidate. It does not appear that our present English County Unions, formed chiefly for Home Missionary purposes, have accepted the responsibility of approving or disapproving of candidates beforehand, except in aided churches, or when the candidate has not received academical training.

The American usages were developed along somewhat different lines from those which we have traced in England. Early New England Ordinations were usually of the Brownist type. In 1639 the First Church in Dedham elected John Allin to be pastor, and John Hunting to be ruling elder. Wednesday, 24th April (O.S.), was appointed for the Ordination. Hunting prayed, and Allin preached from 1 Cor. iii. 9, and then called on the congregation to confirm the election of Hunting. This done, he asked "whom the church desired to aid in the work?" Ralph Wheelock and E. Allin were designated. These, with J. Allin, laid their hands on Hunting; Allin prayed, and said, "In the name of the Lord Jesus . . . we do ordain thee, John Hunting, unto the office of Ruling Elder in this Church of Christ." Then Hunting called for ratification of the choice of J. Allin as pastor; he, with the other two, laid hands on J. Allin, and with prayer in like manner Ordained him as pastor. Finally the pastor of Lynn, in the name of himself and other elders present, gave to Allin and Hunting the right hand of fellowship.

American Congregationalists were accustomed, in cases of doubt or difficulty, to call Councils of Representatives of neighbouring churches. The function of such councils was simply to advise; but their moral authority was great, as if their advice were persistently rejected they could renounce fellowship with a recalcitrant church. It was usual to call an Advisory Council in view of a projected pastoral settlement; and occasionally such a council would disapprove of the candidate, or urge delay, by reason of some doubt as to his character or fitness, or because of lack of unanimity in the call. Gradually it came about that pastors who were summoned to advise were invited to participate in the Ordination; and little by little the custom of what we have called Fraternal Ordination gave place to Ordination in the Presbyterian manner—much to the discontent of the more conservative people, who were morbidly jealous lest the Independence of the particular Church should be compromised. Dexter, in *The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*, mentions several illustrative cases. One of the most interesting is that of the church at Northampton, the official representative of which, on 25th January, 1727, sent "Letters Missive" to several neighbouring pastors requesting their "presence and assistance to ordain Mr. Jonathan Edwards, this day three weeks." Clearly the Ordination was to be by the Council thus summoned, acting as a Presbytery.

Another "Letter Missive," sent by the Second Church at Boston to the Church at Rumney-marish on 30th May, 1752, states that Samuel Mather has accepted a call to the vacant pastorate, and 21st June following has been appointed for his Ordination: the pastor and delegates of the church addressed are therefore invited "to join in Council with the Revd Elders and Messengers of several

other churches, for such acts of Ecclesiastical Communion as the Occasion of the day shall require."

It may be worth noting that while early Congregational Ordinations were always "with prayer and fasting," by the middle of the eighteenth century they frequently became occasions of feasting.

The fathers and founders of modern Congregationalism, identifying The Church with a single congregation, and regarding its pastors and teachers as Ministers indeed, but not as a Ministry, had no place for Presbyters at large ; indeed such are implicitly repudiated in the Savoy Declaration. But sentiment, in this as in other matters, proved stronger than logic. It was felt to be a grievance that a church when destitute of a pastor should be deprived of the sacraments ; and in such circumstances it was thought more fitting that these should be dispensed by one who had held the pastoral office than by an unofficial person. Thus retired ministers came to be looked on as Presbyters at large ; and the "character" conferred in Ordination, if repudiated in words, was acknowledged in fact. The London Itinerant Society, by the work of a band of lay preachers, had gathered several village congregations, in some of which administration of the sacraments was desired. The ministers who were members of the Committee could not, by reason of their manifold duties, fully satisfy this desire, and it was arranged that one or two of the lay preachers should be ordained for the purpose. One, Rev. W. Field, was actually so ordained in 1804 ; and for several years, as an itinerant pastor, he administered the Lord's Supper in six different congregations.

But a more serious departure from the older tradition was necessitated as the Church more fully realized its responsibility towards the heathen. The older generation had viewed the Church simply as an institution for the spiritual culture of the Elect : the evangelistic activities of such saints as John Eliot and David Brainerd were in spite of, not the fruits of, their Calvinistic theology. But when, early in the nineteenth century, the agents of the London Missionary Society began to see the result of their labours, it became necessary to revise former conclusions. If a missionary had gathered a church from among the heathen, it was obviously absurd that he should be thought unqualified to exercise pastoral supervision over his converts, or to dispense the sacraments among them, until he was formally elected to the pastorate by those who but a little while before had been savages or cannibals. And if not so, how could he be ordained except as a presbyter at large ?

During the last fifty or sixty years a steadily increasing number of women, other than missionaries' wives, have devoted themselves to evangelistic labour among the heathen. Their formal recognition by the Church is usually spoken of as "dedication" rather than

"ordination," and the ceremonial imposition of hands is omitted. This is probably because their work is in general that of the teacher rather than of the pastor. But in recent years an appreciable—though not large—number of women have been regularly ordained as pastors of churches in America; and one or two such cases have occurred in England. Little by little the Congregational Churches appear to be more fully adopting the principle laid down by St. Paul in Gal. iii. 28. There have also been a few cases in which presbyteral status has been conferred by Ordination on persons who, though not pastors of churches, have held a quasi-pastoral relation—such as tutorship in a college, etc. This is a still further departure from the traditions of the older Congregationalism.

Towards the middle of the last century a recrudescent Sacerdotalism provoked opposition in the form of a violent anti-clerical outburst. Some ministers, instead of insisting strongly on the equal priesthood of all believers, sought to combat the evil by renouncing the clerical character, denying the legitimacy—if not the existence—of any clerical order, refusing the usual complimentary title, and adopting an ostentatiously unclerical dress. Human nature being such as it is, this led inevitably to a depreciation of the pastoral office, the substitution of a mere social recognition for a solemn ordination, the degradation of the Church idea to that of a religious club, and rapid spiritual decline.

It has already been shown that no series of Ordinations can be traced in an unbroken line to the primitive ages. Whatever, therefore, of "Apostolic Succession" may be lacking in a pastor who was ordained under Brownist conditions is equally lacking in a recipient of Presbyterian or Episcopal "Orders." No kind of Ordination can confer any sacerdotal status other than that priesthood which is common to all believers, nor can it authorize any Church-official to act as Mediator between God and man, or to negotiate for men such spiritual affairs as they cannot negotiate for themselves. No Ordination, Fraternal, Presbyterian, or Prelatic, can give validity to Sacramental rites which they would not otherwise possess, or impart additional truth or authority to the gospel message, or to a personal assurance of Divine forgiveness to a repentant sinner. Ordination can no more do these things than it can make an ignorant man learned, a foolish man wise, or a bad man good. Nevertheless it is of high importance, and indispensable to any conceivable "Reunion," that the dignity of the pastoral office be maintained, the mutual duties of pastor and people be clearly assigned, and the relation of the local church to the Church Catholic be unmistakably asserted. These conditions are met by the system of Congregational Councils that has long been in vogue in America, or by the procedure which is declared to be "ordinarily requisite" in the *Heads of Agreement* of 1691.

T. G. C.

The Defeat of Lord Sidmouth's Bill, 1811

THE following graphic account of certain happenings behind the scenes, in connection with the final debate in the House of Lords on 21st May, 1811, seems worth reproducing; as it not only throws a vivid sidelight on the feeling at the time, at any rate in Nonconformist circles, but also adds one or two touches to our knowledge of the inner course of circumstances by which the bill failed to become law. The Memorandum was drawn up in 1862 from memory, by the eye-witness of what is stated, Rev. John Nelson Goulty, a Congregational minister, who was a not very distant kinsman of Admiral Nelson, and who in 1811 was in training for the ministry at Homerton College under Dr. John Pye Smith. It was inserted by him in his copy of *A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies appointed to Protect the Civil Rights of the Protestant Dissenters* (1813), as an addendum to its narrative of the genesis and rejection of Lord Sidmouth's bill, which occupies pages 85 to 122 of the book.[1] A convenient summary of what is generally known about this episode in the history of British ecclesiastical legislation will be found in Dr. R. W. Dale's *History of English Congregationalism*, pp. 573–5. The chief points in which the Memorandum supplements that generally accurate account are the fact that the fate of the bill was already settled by the archbishop and others before the debate began, and the different treatment which some Wesleyan ministers of position,

[1] The book was given by Mr. Goulty's son to Mansfield College Library.

like Dr. Adam Clarke (compare the *Sketch*, p. 107, and the *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, by the Hon. and Rev. G. Pellew, D.D.), seem to have sought to obtain for their own body.

VERNON BARTLET.

I was in the House of Lords on the 21st of May, 1811, and heard the debate under circumstances so peculiar and interesting that I am induced to add as under to this record of the Deputies.

The excitement produced by Lord Sidmouth's bill was such as was never known before. The whole country was moved and the anxiety was *intense*. I was at that time a student at Homerton, and great was the desire of many to get admission to the House (which required a Peer's ticket). I went early in the morning, first to Earl Nelson, and obtained from him a ticket of admission for myself. Then I waited on the Bishop of Durham (Shute Barrington) and obtained a ticket from him for Dr. J. Pye Smith. Then I proceeded to Lord Stanhope's, and he gave me a ticket for Rev. Thomas Hill of Homerton—and then I went to the Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Bathurst) and obtained from him a ticket for one of my fellow-students. I should have gone on in this course for one or two tickets more, but that the Bishop of Norwich in a rather free and friendly talk on the subject of "the bill," told me that he should not be in the House that evening, for that he should not be able to do any service and did not wish to give offence where he could be of no use. I knew that the Dissenters were reckoning upon his Lordship's advocacy of religious liberty, and felt exceedingly discouraged by this interview.

I felt that all was lost; and went my way fearing the worst. As I was going down Fleet Street I met Rev. Joseph Hughes (Bible Society Secretary) and told him of my fears. He said, "Go directly to the Committee which is now sitting in such a place (London Tavern,

then in Cheapside), and request to see the Chairman and tell him. Request, from me, that a Deputation be sent forthwith to the Bishop urging his presence in the House that evening." I did so, and made my report —upon which a Deputation was named, and I was requested to accompany them. The Deputation consisted of the Chairman (John Wilson, Esq.), Rev. John Clayton, and Mr. Wontner. We proceeded to the Bishop's House, and were invited in by his lady, to wait till the Bishop returned from Covent Garden Market. We, however, returned and went again about half an hour after, and found his Lordship at home and alone, and most kindly ready to receive us. It was now about half-past eleven o'clock. We had a long and very pleasant conversation with his Lordship, who taking out his watch presently said, "Gentlemen, it is now one o'clock. Can you keep a little secret?" Mr. Clayton was our spokesman, and assured his Lordship that we could and would honourably. "Well," he said, "I have told you that I am not going to the House to-night as it would be useless, but if I were there I should certainly speak in favour of perfect religious liberty; but I may now tell you, if you will not reveal it, that it is arranged that the bill will be *lost* to-night. My Lord Sidmouth is very conscientious about it and thinks you are all wrong—or that you mistake the operation of this measure. He will, of course, bring it forward and some discussion will ensue; but the Archbishop will not support it, and it will fail. This is the secret, and it is understood."

We thanked his Lordship much and retired. The Deputation were glad to be released from being present at the House of Lords that evening. I proceeded to Homerton, gave my tickets, and we soon set forth to the House of Lords; and were there almost the first. There were no seats for us, and so I took my place next the rail and kept it. Soon after one of the noble Lords came towards us, and spoke to a venerable minister

whom I did not know, but he was near the rail at my right hand—an arm's length or so distant. I found immediately that they were talking of "*the bill.*" I could not help listening, Presently I began to perceive that it was Lord Sidmouth himself, and I heard from behind me that the other was *Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke.* We had heard that "the *Methodists had expressed their willingness that the bill should pass if they were* (*as a body*) *exempted*"; and this was clearly the urgent point with the Dr. One would have thought that Lord Sidmouth was still in earnest, nodding a sort of assent to the Dr.'s remarks as if he understood the case, but said he thought we mistook the tendency of the measure. The Dr. pleaded for exemption of the body as "Wesleyan Methodists." By and by the debate was opened, and oh! with what anxiety all around listened to it. I had *hard* work to keep my counsel—but I did so—and not an utterance of mine gave the least idea of what I knew. I can never forget the scene, nor ever lose the impression which the eloquence of Lord Holland and Lord Erskine made upon me. The bill *was lost.* After the decision, Mr. William Hale took us (Homertonians) to a Coffee House near and gave us refreshment—not (I assure you) unneeded—and we went home in a Hackney Coach together *rejoicing.* I was not again in the House of Lords, or House of Commons, to hear a debate, until seventeen years after, when I was present at the *repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in* 1828.

J. N. G.

Brighton,
August 24, 1862.

A Congregational Consultation

THE following letter is found in the same volume as that which contains Mr. Doughty's record of his labours at Burwell and Soham.[1] It is, however, in a totally different handwriting, apparently of later date, and—notwithstanding bad spelling—having some pretensions to elegance. It is neither dated nor signed. By Eselham we are probably to understand Isleham; the word looks more like Yelham, but no such place is to be found either in modern gazetteers or in the Index Villaris. The "Union" Church at Kimbolton is understood to have originated in 1692—the same year as Burwell and (probably) Isleham: but the distance, not less than forty miles, tempts one to look for some nearer place. Mr. Crofton's heterodoxy seems to have been a specially dangerous form of Antinomianism.

"The Church of Christ at Eselham and the towns thareabouts to the Church of Christ at Kimbolton whareof the Holy Ghost hath made M^r. L^ws. Wayman Overseer, sendeth Greeting wishing grace and Pease.

"Dearly Beloved it is with the utermost Concern . . . for y^e . . . Kingdom and intrest of Our Gloryous Redeemer Jesus Christ thee High Priest of Our Profession that we are Oblidg^d to in treate you to give yourselves ye trouble of sending your Messengers Over to us to give us your thoughts upon ye folowing things which M^r. Crofton hath constantly Preach^d amongst us, and which we fear we have born too Long with:

[1] See *Trans.* Vol. VI, pp. 415–16.

even until most of the Church cannot bare to hear any Longer; and also what we shall Do in ye affair—first, that ye Law is not a rule of Life to a believer: 2ly, that God sees no sinn in His People: 3ly, Sinn Cann Doe a Beliver no Harm in any respect whatsoever: 4ly, that God doth Never afflict His people for sinn: 5ly, that Sinn is Never a trouble to a beliver: hath also said that God is Never angry nor displeased with His People for Sinn. Shall Leave ye affair with ye Lord, hoping it will please (Him) to dyrect your way unto Us. Upon the Meantime desire your Earnest Praye^r to ye Lord for us.

"You are Desired to come to Br. Ed^w. Parsons at Eselham."

The London Itinerant Society

(*Continued from p.* 323)

TWO objects about this time [1817] occupied much of the attention of the Society : to ascertain the real condition and spiritual needs of the population within a ten-mile radius around London, and to be sure of the satisfactory character of the preachers for whose teaching it was morally responsible. The first of these was attempted by dividing the whole area into four districts, for each of which a small Committee of inquiry was appointed. The other was met by revised rules as to the appointment or sanction of preachers and teachers. These were to the following effect :—Every applicant for recognition as Preacher or Teacher shall state his name, place of abode, and Church-connection to the Committee, who shall consult the minister (or if there be no minister, then "the managers, deacons, or other responsible persons") of the church "as to his moral and religious character, temper, and disposition." And if he offer himself as a preacher he shall preach a trial sermon before the Committee, after which he may be questioned by such ministers as are present.

In 1818 further unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain a preaching-place at *Leytonstone*. *Hanwell* was proposed as a station, but apparently not then adopted. In 1819 the Home Missionary Society was founded, between which and the Itinerant Society the relations became very intimate. The first proposal of the H.M.S., however, that the Itinerants should supply Chingford, does not seem to have found favour. In 1820 the Hoxton Itinerant Society was discontinued : it had, at the end, only two stations, *Finchley* and *Crouch End*, both of which were adopted by the London Society. Of these the former developed into a vigorous church ; with the latter the present church in the same neighbourhood does not seem to have any historic connection. Inquiries were made as to the possibility of operations at *Isleworth* and *Twickenham*, but without practical results. Suggestions were also made of a Benevolent Fund, and of a Library for the use of the preachers ; but both were held over for consideration in an indefinite future. In April 1821 a somewhat serious disturbance

was made during worship at *Woodford Bridge* by one William Whittam, who, being taken into custody, was forcibly rescued by his comrades. As he refused to apologize for his misconduct, a prosecution was ordered, with the result that he was committed to prison. After a few days he sent an acknowledgment of his offence, with a petition for release, and the Society requested that he might be liberated on payment of costs, his apology to be printed and circulated ; but this the magistrates would not permit, and the man remained in prison for several weeks—apparently till the Quarter Sessions.

During this year several suggestions were made by the Home Missionary Society which for various reasons were deemed impracticable ; such as a preaching station at *Chadwell* in Essex, another at *Cooper's Gardens*, Hackney Road, and "opening Rooms in and near London for prayer and exhortation." But in January 1822 a station was adopted in *Hornsey Road*, formerly managed from Union Chapel, Islington. In October of this year an important Resolution was adopted, "That the Metropolis and its Environs be considered as within the sphere of the Society's operations ; and that, in concert with the friends of religion in various parts of the Metropolis, they devise and carry into effect such measures as may be deemed most expedient for supplying the destitute poor in their respective neighbourhoods with the means of Religious Instruction." It was understood that Rev. G. C. Smith, of Penzance (popularly known as "Boatswain Smith"), was projecting a new Society for the same purpose, and a deputation was appointed to confer with him. Mr. Smith expressed his belief that there was abundant room both for the Itinerant Society and for the working out of his project. That project materialized, a year or two later, in "The Domestic Mission," which became the precursor of The London City Mission.

In the minutes for 1823 we find mention of work done at *Battersea Rise* ; and of a station hopefully commenced at *Portland Town*. (The former of these was discontinued in 1825, and the latter taken over by the Wesleyans in 1826.) A request "to devise means for sending the gospel to *Bowyer Lane*, Camberwell," elicited the reply that "if the applicant would find a room the Society would send a preacher" ; but nothing further came of it. Efforts to obtain a room, or a plot of ground, at *Hendon* were unsuccessful.

The executive was reinforced about this time by the accession of Thomas Thompson, Esq., who had been the virtual founder of the Home Missionary Society. At his suggestion inquiries were made as to the use of some Sunday-school buildings as preaching-places ; but it was found that in some cases this use was precluded by the conditions of the lease. It was decided to change

the name of the institution to "The London Evangelical Society"; but the original title was resumed after two or three months, as it was feared that the change of name might involve possible loss of legacies. In June 1824 five Sub-committees were appointed to look into the religious condition of as many specified districts, and if possible to secure a preaching-place in each, viz.: (1) Shoreditch and Spitalfields, (2) Saffron Hill and its neighbourhood, (3) St. Giles, Drury Lane, and Seven Dials, (4) Southwark, (5) Westminster. As a result of their inquiries, numerous suggestions were made as to places where rooms might be obtained or where preaching-stations were desirable; such as Hampstead West End, Kew, Hart Street, Covent Garden, Paddington, "near the Stingo," and Walworth Common. But only at the first named was preaching commenced, and this only for a short time. In the course of 1825 there was preaching for a short time, usually only for a few weeks, at *Lemon Street Goodman's Fields*, *Payne's Alley*, *Spicer Street Spitalfields*, and *Chelsea Common*; and a Sunday School in *Whitecross Street*. Other suggested localities were found impracticable. The outcome of these experiments appeared to show the propriety of restricting the Society's operations to the outlying districts—according to its first constitution, and leaving London to other Societies which were then being organized.

In June 1826 a request was received from *Hanwell* for preachers at a small chapel which was private property. Arrangements were made, and the chapel rented for two years, with option of purchase. For some time there seemed promise of a successful mission; but about the end of 1829 the outlook was depressing. In the following April the people there expressed a hope of being able to manage their own affairs, but in March 1835 they again asked the aid of the Society's preachers. Evidently the chapel was closed for a time; for in July 1835 there is a notice of its reopening. Attempts were made, extending over more than a year, to obtain a room for preaching at *Hendon*, but without success. At length the Wesleyans built a chapel, so that the necessities of the place were supplied. Inquiries were made as to the extensive parish of *Chingford*, where there seemed much need of evangelistic effort, notwithstanding a Wesleyan preaching-place at one end of the parish; but, except distribution of tracts, it does not appear that anything practical was attempted by the Itinerant Society. Inquiries were also made about *Welling*, but it was not till three or four years later that any active steps were taken in that village.

In 1827 much energy was displayed in efforts which afforded but little encouragement. Unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain preaching-places at Bexley, Hayes (Kent), Camden Town, and in a district "East of Regent's Park." After some meetings in the open air at *Lee Green*, a room was hired "from quarter to

quarter"; but how long the tenancy continued is not stated. Preaching was also commenced in a house at *Bexley Heath*, but apparently for no long time. At *Bromley Common*, however, a promising beginning was made, the room being overcrowded before the end of the year, so that a permanent chapel was desirable. Such a building was erected, on lease with option of purchase, and was opened for worship on 19th October, 1828. This appears to be the same place which in later entries is called *Keston*, and which gave place to another building in 1842.

An interesting entry appears under date 16th January, 1828. It must be remembered that at this time the Calvinistic "Five Points" were *professedly* held in most of the Congregational Churches. A gentleman, proposed to the Itinerant Society as a preacher, was rejected because "he did not consider it right to tell persons dead in sin to pray," and—in strict accord with Dordrechtian Calvinism—he "denied the doctrine of the General Call of the Gospel to sinners."

In March 1828 proposals were received to repair the somewhat dilapidated chapel at *Wandsworth Common* (where a station had been established in 1817), and use it as a school for poor children. This was agreed to. In September 1832 it was suggested that the church at Wandsworth or Tooting might take charge of the station; but in December the people in attendance were prepared to take the management into their own hands, and its connection with the Society was severed.

From the beginning of 1828 to the end of 1830 inquiries and negotiations were going on with a view to establishing a station at either *Fulham* or *Walham Green*; but no practical result ensued. In the summer of 1828 negotiations were sanctioned for acquiring a place for preaching at *Kensal Green*. But before anything could be effected the room was engaged by the Baptists. In September 1828 preaching was commenced in a schoolroom at *Hampton Wick*, and progress was so satisfactory that within a year the place was overcrowded. In January 1831 a wish was manifested that the station should be affiliated to the church at Kingston, which was agreed to. In September 1828 the Society agreed to take over a disused chapel at *Erith*, which was burdened with a debt of £70. It was reopened on 19th October with a promising congregation, and supplied for upwards of four years; but as by that time very little had been done towards liquidating the debt, notice was given that the supplies would be discontinued from Christmas 1833. The trustees then proposed to sell the chapel, but early in the next year arrangements were made to clear the debt, and to supply the pulpit without the aid of the Society. Preaching was thus continued till 1842, but there was no organized church. Afterwards the chapel was occupied by an agent of the London City Mission. It was closed about 1850. The

present church was constituted in 1857, and has no connection with the former effort, except that for about two years it occupied the old building.

A minute of June 1828 refers to the gratifying aspect of things at *Barking Side*—a station that had been taken over in 1812. It seems that at one time it was partly supplied by Homerton students. In January 1831 there is reference to dissatisfaction, and the Sunday School appears to have been suspended for lack of teachers. It was soon reopened; but towards the end of the year it was proposed to relinquish the station on the expiry of the lease. The lease, however, was renewed, and in 1834 the use of the chapel was granted for a "British" School, on condition that the Master should superintend the Sunday School. In 1837–8–9 there are frequent references to a Mr. Ross, who supplied Barking Side for many months—it would seem with some intervals —who received a small payment for his services,and whose ministry was attended with happy results. In 1840–1 a doctor was allowed the use of the chapel once in three months as a vaccinating station! At the date of the latest minutes the preaching station was still maintained, but in a sadly depressed condition.

The station at *Woodford Bridge* (also taken over in 1812) seems to have had varying fortunes. In April 1829 we find a proposal to build a schoolroom; in August ground is offered, and two years later inquiries are still being made. In October 1833 there is a notice of supplies being sent—as if this were a new thing—and of an attendance of 100 or 140; and at the end of the year the numbers are improving. Then in October 1835 the school is transferred to the preaching-place; and in June 1837 the station is discontinued.

A preaching-station at *Finchley* had been adopted in 1820. In February 1829 Thomas Wilson, Esq., requested that it might be supplied for a time by the students of Highbury (formerly Hoxton) College. This was agreed to. In June Mr. Wilson made a challenge offer of £50 towards building a chapel: this was accepted, and a chapel built, towards which the Society engaged to contribute £10 a year for five years. This developed into what is to-day a vigorous church; but it does not seem to have had any further relations with the Itinerant Society.

Several other efforts initiated in 1829 issued in disappointment. A room was reported as obtainable at *Hampstead North End*, and assistance was asked towards the opening of a place at *Parson's Green*; but in each case the negotiations proved futile. A room was taken at *Chingford Green*, and preaching was commenced, as many as 200 having been in attendance; but in January 1830 the room ceased to be available. In December 1829 supplies were requested for the chapel at *Ewell*—which had been built by the extraordinary perseverance and self-denial of Mary Wallis (see

Trans. iv, 27). In January following Mrs. Wallis asked that the matter might be postponed for six months, and nothing more was done till four years later. A suggestive entry is found under date April 1829 : each of the Society's regular preachers is to receive a copy of "Mr. Neale's Publication on Antinomianism." Also eight copies of Burder's *Village Sermons* are bought—presumably for use at stations where no preachers are available. On 30th September of the same year Mr. G. B. Thompson, one of the Society's preachers, and for a long time a member of its Committee, was ordained at Robert Street Chapel, Grosvenor Square. Rev. W. Leach received the Confession, Rev. Dr. Eb. Henderson offered the Ordination Prayer, Rev. T. Lewis delivered the Charge, Revs. C. Hyatt, E. A. Dunn, — Mason, and G. Evans also took part in the service, the last named giving an explanation of the aims and work of the Society.

In June 1830 it was reported to the Committee that ground for building a chapel might be had at *Welling*, where for some time there had been preaching, *not* by the Society's agents, in a large room. Inquiries were made, conditional promises were given, and in September a meeting was held in a tent, with a view to elicit local feeling on the subject. As a result a building was erected in the summer of 1831, which was opened on Good Friday, 1832. The congregation desired that the station should be under the direction of the Itinerant Society, but were unwilling that the building should become its property. Some misunderstanding arose, leading to considerable delay in executing a Trust Deed, which seems at length to have been overcome. In 1838 it was stated that "the Society has no responsibility in respect of this place." After troublous times the chapel was closed in 1846, but reopened eighteen months later. Sometimes there was a settled pastor, sometimes the pulpit was supplied by students, and sometimes the supplies were various. A "Union Church" was recognized in 1889.

In September 1830 a sum of £20 was voted to establish a Library for the use of the preachers, and a small Committee was constituted to select the books. A month later a lady gave £10 to provide the nucleus of five village libraries. The villages selected were *Bromley, Sydenham, Wimbledon, Merton*, and *Barking Side*. Somewhat elaborate rules were drawn up for the working of these libraries, which were "to consist principally of books of Doctrinal, Experimental, and Practical Religion ; together with Christian Biography, Ecclesiastical History, and other works calculated to elucidate the Sacred Volume." In each place the sum available for a commencement was Two pounds ; and it may be interesting, after three generations, to notice what books were purchased therewith :—*Christian Biography* 6 vols., *Select Sermons* 4 vols., *Village Sermons* (? if Burder's) 2 vols., Boston's *Fourfold*

State, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, Serle's *Christian Remembrancer*, Thornton's *Repentance Enforced*, Richmond's *Annals of the Poor*, *The Daily Scripture Expositor*, and Vincent *On Love to Christ*.

During this year attention was directed to the spiritual needs of *Chiswick* ; but beyond making inquiries nothing practical could be effected. Early in 1831, however, an unfinished building was obtained on lease, which was duly fitted up, and about the end of June a Sunday School was commenced with from 40 to 50 scholars. On 28th July the other part of the building was opened as a chapel ; Rev. Dr. Bennett preached in the morning, Rev. T. Robinson in the afternoon, and Rev. R. Vaughan in the evening. In October a wish was expressed for the establishment of a Day School, which was done, but the result was rather disappointing. The Society arranged for pulpit supplies till July 1835, when assent was given to the expressed desire of the worshippers to constitute a Congregational Church, and take the management of their own affairs. Unfortunately about a year later serious dissension occurred among the members, which was not easily appeased. But in October 1838 Rev. Edward Miller was invited to become the settled pastor. In 1840–1 arrangements were made for an extension of the lease, for its assignment to trustees of whom three were to be nominees of the Society, and for the rebuilding of the chapel ; to the cost of which the Society made a grant of £20 in November 1841, and two smaller grants in 1844 and 1846, whereby the building was freed from encumbrance. Mr. Miller resigned in 1850, after which the place appears in the *Year Book* as "Vacant" or "Supplied" till 1876, when it is dropped.

In April 1831 it was reported that no building could be obtained suitable for a mission at *Strand-on-the-Green*, but that ground could be leased. It was arranged to lease a plot for 21 years, if certain conditions could be met. In the autumn aid was asked of the Sunday School Union toward the building of a schoolroom, which was effected in the latter half of 1832. There was much difficulty in obtaining teachers ; but by February 1833 there were 80 or 90 Sunday Scholars, 70 or 80 Day Scholars, and a Sunday Evening attendance of near 100 adults. A chapel was opened on Good Friday, and a Trust Deed executed about the end of the year. In July 1835 a Congregational Church was constituted, and Mr. W. C. Yonge, one of the Society's preachers, was called to the pastorate. He was ordained, with the approval of the Society, in November or December 1835. In 1840 Mr. Yonge removed to Brentford ; and arrangements were made that Strand should be supplied alternately by one of the Society's preachers and by an agent of the Christian Instruction Society. In 1847 a grant was made by the Society for repairing the Chapel, which was at that time supplied by the Itinerants. It was reported to be in a pros-

perous condition; the Sunday School and Day School to be efficiently conducted; and Mr. Yonge continuing to exercise a kindly oversight. Afterwards it is shown in the *Year Book* as "Supplied," or as an out-station, till 1872, when it disappears.

In January 1832 the Society was requested to supply a chapel at *Twickenham*, which had formerly been served by Highbury Students. Preachers were sent for an experimental term of five weeks; but the results were so discouraging that the experiment was not continued. A request to attempt operations at *New Charlton* was declined, as "the place was deemed ineligible"; and a request for financial assistance at *Ridgway* (near Wimbledon) was declined on the ground that there were no funds available.

In April of this year the Society acquired the unexpired term—about 60 years—of the lease of a building at *Stratford Marsh*, which appeared suitable for a schoolroom and preaching-station. A commencement was made in the summer; and by the end of the year there were 90 Day Scholars, the Sunday School was reported "full," and a Sunday Evening Congregation ranged from 25 to 50 adults. For some years the Society supplied preachers; then a gentleman unnamed became the regular supply; and on his being disabled by illness, in May 1839, the Society was requested to resume the appointment of Supplies. There is evidence that the station was subject to a kind of ebb and flow; in 1840 the Committee were of opinion that it would be better worked by local agency, and the Minister of Old Ford was requested to take it under his superintendence. For the next three years or more the minutes relate chiefly to financial matters, grants in aid of the Sunday School, etc. At one time the Sunday Evening Service must have been suspended, for there is a note in December 1843 that it had been "resumed." The report for 1847, however, admits "the failure of the Sabbath Evening Service, arising from the peculiar circumstances of the neighbourhood." The building "continued to afford accommodation to the Infant and Sabbath Schools established by friends in the neighbourhood"; but the general outlook was not encouraging.

In August 1832 it was decided that each of the several Stations should be placed under the direct superintendence of one of the Society's Agents; the appointments were as follows:—

Acton...	... Mr. Gee.	Strand-on-the Green	... Mr. Thompson.
Barking Side...	Mr. Worster.	Stratford Marsh	Mr. Livesey.
Bromley	... Mr. Holland.	Sydenham	... Mr. Yonge.
Bromley Common	,,	Thornton Heath	Mr. Holland.
Chiswick	... Mr. Thompson.	Wandsworth Common	... ?
Erith...	... Mr. Howard.	Welling	... Mr. Scoble.
Merton	... Mr. Erlebach.	Wimbledon	... Mr. Bandy.
Mortlake	... Mr. Page.		
Ridgway	... Mr. Croft.		

In the summer of 1833 inquiries were made about spiritual destitution at *Rainham*; but no practical results ensued.

In February 1834 Rev. William Henry of Tooting complained, as a trustee of the chapel at *Ewell* (see December 1829), that Supplies who had been sent thither had been refused the pulpit, which had been filled by persons whose doctrines were not in accord with those of the trustees. He therefore requested that the Society would undertake the supply, in co-operation with two persons named. It was agreed to send preachers on two Sundays in each month till Midsummer. Supplies were continued till December, when it was resolved "that the funds of the Society do not warrant a renewal of the engagement."

In April 1834 it was agreed, in compliance with a request, to send preachers to a schoolroom in *Little Albany Street*, near Regent's Park. This was discontinued after about fifteen months. During this summer *Hayes* in Middlesex is mentioned as having been taken on as a station. How long it was continued does not appear.

In March 1835 the agents of the Society held a meeting, and resolved that it was desirable for them to meet once in three months for conference on the progress of their work, and that the Committee should meet with them; whereby they hoped that much might be done for the improvement of the Society. To this the Committee promptly agreed. In October of the same year mention is made of Supplies sent for four weeks to *Lee* in Kent, and arrangements to occupy a place at *Chingford Hatch* till Christmas. A little later proposals were made with respect to *Halfpenny Street*, near Eltham; inquiries were directed, but it does not appear that any action was taken.

Toward the end of November 1836 conversation took place as to a possible junction or affiliation of the Society with the Congregational Union. The matter was discussed during several months, but finally dropped; the then constitution of the Congregational Union rendering the project impracticable.

In June 1837 a grant of £10 was made to assist Evangelistic work at *Tawney Common*, near Chigwell; and in October mention is made of a house opened for worship, and adopted as a station, at *Dagenham*; but neither place is afterwards mentioned.

At the beginning of 1838 a Sub-committee was appointed to inquire into the tenure of the various buildings held or occupied by the Society. The result, as reported on 21st February, may be summarized as follows :—

Barking Side, Lease for 21 years from 25th March, 1832.
Bromley Common, Lease for 98 years from Michaelmas, 1821.
Bromley, Lease of Old Chapel expired; no responsibility for the New.

Chiswick, Lease for 28 years from 25th March, 1831.
Finchley, Society has no liability.
Hanwell, Documents in private custody.
Merton, Lease expired ; a new chapel to be built.
Mortlake, Lease in the hands of the Secretary.
Strand-on-the-Green, Lease for 21 years from 1832.
Stratford Marsh, Lease for 61 years from Michaelmas, 1822.
Sydenham, Lease in the hands of the Mortgagee.
Welling, Society has no responsibility.
Wimbledon, Believed Copyhold ; further inquiry desirable.

As late as June 1839 it was formally reported that "no distinct resolution had been come to by the Congregational Union as to the negotiation for uniting the two Societies." It was thereupon resolved "that we do now occupy our best energies to form New Stations ; and that a Sub-committee be appointed to carry this resolution into effect." In accordance with this resolution attempts were made in 1840 to obtain places for preaching at *Harlsden Green* and *Chislehurst*, but without success. More prosperous was the effort put forth at *Elstree*, where a small chapel was built, and opened on 16th September. Preaching was commenced by the Society's agents, and a congregation gathered ; when Rev. E. Smith took up his abode in the village with a view to establishing a School. It was arranged that he should also take charge of the chapel services, receiving a small yearly grant from the Society. A church was constituted, with Mr. Smith as pastor ; but that gentleman left in 1843 or 4, and the pulpit was again supplied by the Society's preachers. There was some trouble about a mortgage debt, and there was much opposition ; but spiritual fruit was not lacking. However, the station must soon have been discontinued, as it is never mentioned in the *Congregational Year Book*. The present church is of much later origin.

There were some suggestions of a station at *Torrington Park*, near Whetstone ; but no practical results ensued. In 1841 a request was made for preachers for a schoolroom at *Orpington* ; the request was complied with, but for how long is not recorded.

The London Board of Congregational Ministers had, as far back as 1838, appointed a Committee to inquire into the religious condition of the villages within 20 miles of London. In 1842 conferences took place between representatives of the Board and of the Itinerant Society, with a view to mutual co-operation. Revision of rules was suggested, and a more definitely denominational title. But the proposals ended in indefinite postponement.

In the summer of 1843 a chapel at *Turnham Green*, lately relinquished by the Wesleyans, was reopened. But at the end of twelve months, there being little prospect of satisfactory results, the station was discontinued.

In June 1843 we have a minute of the appointment of two Delegates to an International Anti-slavery Convention which was held in that year.

During 1844 preaching was commenced at *Histon*, *Hampton*, *East Molesey*, and *Seething-well*, near Kingston. No later mention is found of the first and third of these stations ; but in June 1847 it was reported that the pulpit at Hampton was permanently supplied. Seething-well still remained on the list.

It may be of some interest to give the expenditure and local income for the preaching-stations for the year 1845–6, the latest statement which appears in the Minute Book :—

	Expenditure.			Local Income.			Balance.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Barkingside	20	8	0	4	0	0	16	8	0
Elstree	28	8	0	nil			28	8	0
Hampton...	17	15	0	13	3	8	4	11	4
Strand-on-the-Green ...	10	6	0	Expended on Incidentals			10	6	0
Stratford Marsh... ...	5	0	0	nil			5	0	0
Wimbledon	25	15	10	22	11	0	3	4	10
	107	12	10	39	14	8	67	18	2

The minutes break off abruptly at the end of 1847, before the middle of the volume. Under what circumstances the Society was dissolved is not recorded.

With regard to what may be called the machinery of the Society, no complete account can be given, because of lacunæ in the Minute Books. In these indeed after the first twenty years records of the Annual General Meetings are seldom found, though the Committee Meetings are in general fully reported. At first all the meetings were held at the Castle and Falcon in Aldersgate Street. Afterwards the Annual Meetings were held from 1801 to 1808 at Paul's Coffee House ; from 1809 to 1815 at the Guildhall Coffee House ; from 1816 to 1828 and perhaps later at the New London Tavern ; afterwards usually at various Chapels, or at the Congregational Library in Blomfield Street. The Committee Meetings were usually held from 1801 to 1809 at 36 Noble Street, Foster Lane ; from 1809 to 1813 at 7 Shoe Lane ; from 1813 to 1815 at 50 Fetter Lane ; from 1815 to 1821 at the rooms of the London Missionary Society in Old Jewry ; from 1821 to 1823 at the Home Missionary Society's rooms, 18 Aldermanbury ; and from 1834 to the end at the Congregational Library. For many years there was a yearly social meeting near about the New Year,

held in some Coffee House or other convenient place. Of the character of these meetings no account is given; paucity of attendance led to their discontinuance.

The first secretary of the Society was Rev. W. F. Platt. He retired in 1821, and was succeeded by Rev. W. Broadfoot, with Mr. Wm. Beams as assistant-secretary. From 1826 to 1838 Rev. George Evans and Mr. Beams were joint secretaries; then Rev. Geo. Evans and Mr. J. T. Read till 1846; and on the death of Mr. Evans his place was taken by Rev. R. T. Hunt.

The first treasurer was Jas. Neale, Esq., assisted latterly by his son Benjamin Neale, who succeeded to the office on his father's death in 1813, but only held it for a year or two. Andrew Birt was treasurer from 1815 to 1817; then Samuel Robinson, the well-known founder of "Robinson's Retreat." He died in 1833, and was followed by Joshua Wilson till 1839. Thence till 1844 the treasurer was Thomas Livesay; on the failure of whose health Alderman Thos. Challis held the post for a year or two; finally giving place to Joseph Maitland. Among ministers who are specially mentioned as having assisted the Society in various ways, as by preaching, service on Committees, loan of chapels on special occasions, etc., we find the names of Rowland Hill, Matthew Wilks, John Eyre, C. Hyatt, E. J. Jones, Dr. W. B. Collyer, Dr. Alex. Fletcher, John Blackburn, Dr. Matheson, etc.

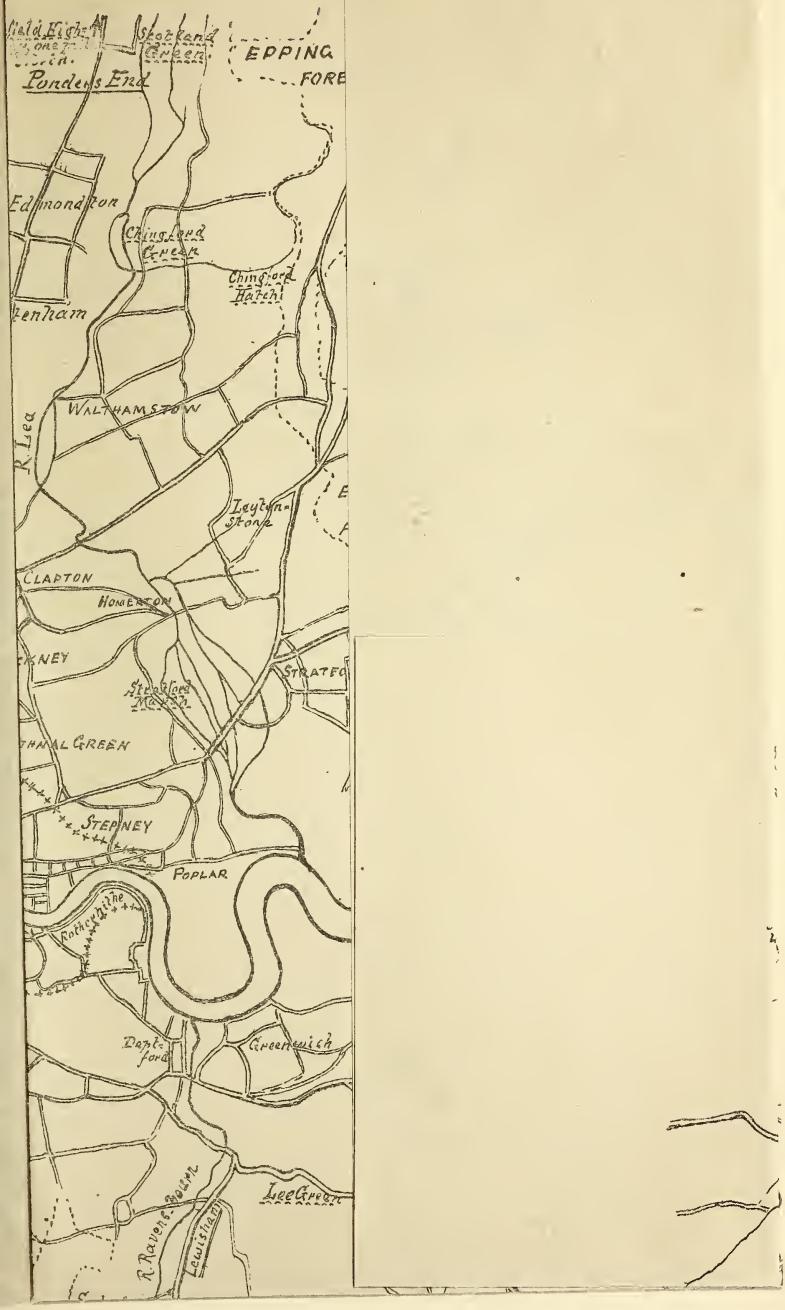
The churches which originated in the labours of the Society's preachers, and were constituted with its approval, were all Congregational. But the Society itself was in its inception Undenominational; several of its most active supporters being ministers of churches which were Independent indeed, but not strictly speaking Congregational, and themselves technically disqualified for admission to the London Board of Congregational Ministers. They were in fact what in those days were called "Calvinistic Methodists" (see *Trans.* vi, p. 126). In accordance with this the ordinations sanctioned by the Society were for the most part *not* to Congregational pastorates; with the exception of Rev. W. C. Yonge the brethren concerned were ordained as presbyters at large, it being thought irregular that the sacraments should be administered by laymen.

From first to last the agents of the Society occupied about fifty-five preaching-stations, some for only a few weeks, some for years together. Of these only five were already-existing churches, viz. Mortlake, Bromley, Ponders End, Erith, and Ewell; and four of these still subsist in varying degrees of prosperity. Of preaching-stations initiated by the Society, West Norwood, Lewisham, Sydenham, Ealing, Acton, Merton, Finchley, and Welling have each formed the nucleus of a still existing church; while among stations that were discontinued, but in which Congregational Churches have since been established, we may

reckon Dulwich, Streatham, Wimbledon, Merton, Enfield Highway, Woodford Bridge, Erith, Crouch End, Hanwell, Bexley Heath, and Elstree. The Society completely failed in its attempt to do such work as is effectively done by the London City Mission; and its activities were considerably hampered by financial difficulties arising from its attempting the work of a Church Building Society. But it has left honourable records; and if it became evident that by 1847 its work was done, it still remains true that

> "God fulfils Himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

NOTE.—Our attention has been called to an error on p. 315, ll. 20–23. It was not Haslemere, but Petersfield, where Mr. Densham was located as Evangelist in 1798. He was ordained in October 1799; and the fatal accident which ended his ministry occurred while he was on a journey to Haslemere in July 1803.


Skotland Green
EPPING
FORE
Ponders End
Edmondton
Chingford Green
Chingford Hatch
WALTHAMSTOW
R. Lea
Leyton-Stone
CLAPTON
HOMERTON
STRATFO
Stratford Marsh
THAL GREEN
STEPNEY
POPLAR
Rotherhithe
Deptford
Greenwich
Lee Green
R. Ravens-Bourn
Lewisham

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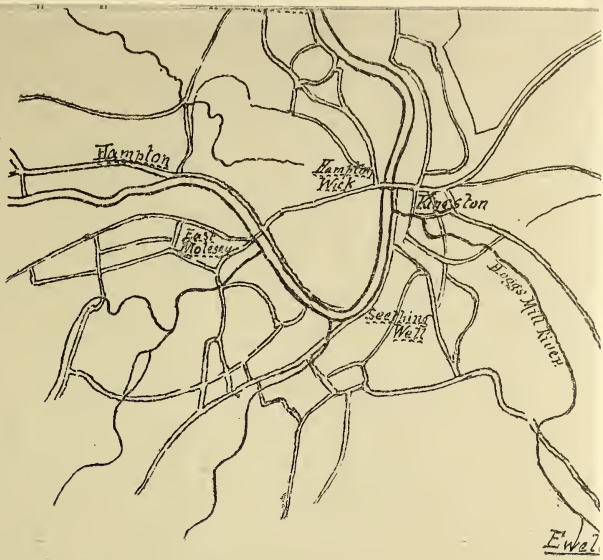
MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE THE
work of the
LONDON
ITINERANT SOCIETY.
1797-1847.
Churches Originated by the Society's Agents; Acton.
Older Churches Assisted by the Society; Hartlake
Stations temporarily or
Casually supplied; Barnet.
(T. G. Crippen)
EPPING FOREST
HAINAULT FOREST
EPPING FOREST
BARKING LEVEL
PLAISTOW LEVEL
MARSHES
HOUNSLOW HEATH
NORWOOD AND COMMON
MITCHAM COMMON
Scale of Miles.
The broken line indicates roughly the extent of London about 1800


Hampton
Hampton Wick
Kingston
East Molesey
Seething Well
Hogs Mill River
Ewel

William Cudworth and his Connexion (1717–1763)

WILLIAM CUDWORTH was the leading spirit of an offshoot from Methodism, the adherents of which were called "The Hearers and Followers of the Apostles." Born in 1717 or 1718, we find him in 1744 ministering to a small congregation in what had been the French Church in Black and Grey Eagle Street, Spitalfields. At the invitation of George Whitefield he joined to this duty the care of the school at the Tabernacle ; but on 12th June, 1745, he left Whitefield and added to his original meeting the late French Chapel in Peter's Yard, Castle Street, near Leicester Fields. In or about December 1745 he was "set apart to administer the Ordinances," and increased the number of meeting-houses in his connexion by the acquisition of those in Petticoat Lane and Angel Alley. In the first of these John Humphrey and Joseph Hussey had formerly ministered, and in the latter Elias Keach and Edward Ridgway. Before 1748 the French Chapel in New Hermitage Street, Wapping, was also attached to the Connexion. Here William Collins was a frequent preacher ; but his views concerning a Real Presence in the Sacramental Elements contributed to his dissociation from Cudworth.

In 1751 Cudworth first journeyed to Norwich, and preached at the Tabernacle there ; also at the Tabernacle at Forncett, and at Bury St. Edmunds, on many subsequent occasions. In 1752 he erected a chapel in Margaret Street, near Oxford Market, close beside which was his residence. The site of this chapel is now occupied by the church of All Saints, Margaret Street. Cudworth was much occupied with theological controversy. He had differences both with Whitefield and Wesley, the latter of whom exhibited considerable bitterness towards him, apparently on account of his friendship with James Hervey the well-known author of *Theron and Aspasio*. His defence of the doctrine of Imputed Righteousness also brought him into conflict with Ann Dutton. He died at Brewood in Staffordshire on 10th June, 1763. His Connexion seems to have dissolved before the end of the century ; but the Peter Street meeting continued at least

until 1778, when a conference of its vestry is said to have been held with delegates of the Scotch Church in Swallow Street. Margaret Street Chapel was mortgaged to General Gage of Bunker's Hill fame. It was known as "The Pentagon Chapel," and had a sky-blue roof. Some of its later preachers were far from Orthodox in Cudworth's sense; among them are named Franklin and Dr. Williams. It still existed in 1840.

Cudworth was accustomed to say that he wished to live only in that which he taught. The following extracts fairly represent the essential points of his teaching :—

"My only hope is in my faith in Christ. This faith is not a faith in historical acts, but an implicit acceptance that Christ has already effected all that is necessary for the Salvation of Mankind and me. So far as I accept this, without thought or trouble of my worth or works, His great work will proceed in me towards salvation. Remorse and sorrow are no more acceptance of Christ than hiccough is digestion. My merits, my acts, my accomplishments are naught, they are at best the mere reflection of the Act that has historically influenced the World, and has been indisputably its motive and its principle for ever guiding it towards The Great Example. As Christianity has guided the World nearer God, so the Atonement has been effected; as the World has rejected Christian teaching, so the sacrifice has been rendered of delayed effect and Christ has been crucified afresh. If I accept Him, I am shaped to His likeness, and this is Sanctification in its Becoming.

"Because the best of our works, even contrition, are purely the result of human and unavailing emotions, the only repentance of worth is the turning to Christ. God then of His Grace regards me under the fresh aspect of Man made to the likeness of Christ (Psalm xvii, 15). This is the fruit of the Incarnation, whereby the second Adam becomes the Father of men once more made in the image of God.

"Then Justification and Sanctification in Act are one, and that Act is of God and not the work of the recipient. They are merely the Righteousness of the Only Righteous Christ, given, in its perfection, to the individual, who is clothed in it, and to the Church, the One and Undefiled (Solomon's Song iv, 7) which is One Holy and Invincible even as its Creator, to Whom it is indissolubly united, and by Whose Blood it has been bought.

"This way of Faith is the strait path to God's City, whereon the pilgrim travels safe by the pledged honour of God, in full knowledge, assurance and sight of Him by Whom he is called."

The following is believed to be a complete list of Cudworth's publications. The publishers are all of London, unless otherwise stated.

* indicates, "In British Museum." § In possession of compiler.
† indicates, "In Congregational Library, Memorial Hall, London." ‡ No copy known to compiler.

1. A Vindication of . . . the Assurance of Faith from . . . the Rev. Mr. Crookshanks etc. 1744. 6d.*

   The Rev. Wm. Crookshanks of Swallow St. Presbyterian Church published two sermons; "Steadfastness in the Faith recommended." 1743.* These are criticized.

2. Reasons against the Use of Marks and Evidences. 1745.*†§

   2nd. edn. entitled, "A Necessary Caution against seeking Peace of Conscience by Marks and Evidences misapplied." 1777. 4d.§
   3rd edition. 1843. See no. 47.*
   See also 10 (vi).

3. Some Observations concerning the Church of Christ. 1745.*†§

   See no. 10 (vii).

4. A Dialogue between A Preacher of Inherent Righteousness and a Preacher of God's Righteousness. 1745.*†§

   A Reply to John Wesley's tract, "A Dialogue between an Antinomian and his Friend."*† Wesley replied with a second dialogue, to which Cudworth replied as shown in 10 (x).

5. A Collection of Hymns. pp. 1–96. circ. 1745. 6d.*
6. A Collection of Hymns for the Use of a Church of Christ, etc. Composed by the Brethren and Sisters. Part II. pp. 97–276, with Index to Pts. 1 and 2. 12mo. 1746.* See no. 8 of list.
7. A Letter to Mrs. Anne Dutton.‡

   An account of Cudworth's controversy with Mrs. Anne Dutton is contained in *N. & Q.* 12 S. ii. 471. See also no. 10 (x) in this list.

8. A Collection of Hymns . . . for the Use of Religious Societies. 1747. 2s.†

   A further imprint of no. 6 above, with different title-page.

9. Holy Meditations . . . of Jesus Christ. . . . Together with the Righteousness of Faith. 1746. 12mo. 6d.*

   This compilation of Wm. Cudworth's is a reprint of a poem of high merit, written by an unnamed author in 1642. Stanza 1 begins :—

   "O pleasant streams, whose living waves
   "'Bove Libanus do rise,
   "About whose banks the flowers do meet
   "Right joysom for our eyes."

pp. 91–94 are extracts from Paradise Lost.
p. 95 a Contents Table of Holy Meditation.

10. Christ Alone Exalted. A Collection of Tracts. 1746. 12mo. 1s. 6d.‡

2nd edn. 1747*†§ 12 parts.

(i) A Sermon on Ephes. ii, 8, extracted from the works of Mr. John Simpson. pp. 1–28, entitled, Man's Righteousness no Cause or Part of his Justification.

Preface by J. Cennick.

(ii) A Second Sermon on Ephes. ii. 8 . . . Mr. John Simpson. pp. 29–52, and entitled, Salvation only by God's Grace.

(iii) A Third Sermon on Ephes. ii. 8 . . . Mr. John Simpson. pp. 53–74, and entitled, Salvation only by Believing, to which are added, Passages extracted from . . . Dr. Martin Luther. pp. 74–78.

(iv) Abraham's Steps of Faith . . . extracted from . . . Mr. John Eaton, A.M., of Trinity College, Oxon. 1745.

Preface by John Cennick. pp. 1–10 are the extracts named above ; pp. 11, 15 and 16 an extract of Erskine's Gospel Sonnets ; pp. 12–14 a tract entitled, Free Salvation defended and several Common Objections answered. By W. C.

(v) Justification by Christ Alone . . . Written by Samuel Richardson in the year 1647. pp. 1–12. 1745.

See no. 14 in this vol.

(vj) Some Reasons against making Use of Marks and Evidences etc. With . . . Preface by Mr. Edward Godwin. 1745. pp. 1–24.

The preface dated Artillery Court, May 14, 1745, is by Godwin the ancestor of Godwin, author of Caleb Williams, and of Mrs. Shelley. See no. 2.

(vij) Some Observations concerning the Church of Christ. By Wm. Cudworth. 1745. pp. 1–16.

The previous tractates 10 (iii)–(vi) were sold at the Tabernacle. This was on sale at the late French Church, Grey Eagle St. It marks the separation of Cudworth from Methodism. See also no. 3.

(viij) A Dialogue etc. pp. 1–12. 1745.

See also no. 4 and 10 xi.

(ix) The Copy of a Letter sent to Matthew Henderson in Newgate, for the barbarous Murder of . . . Lady Dal-

rymple, etc. n.d. pp. 1–12. 1d. Sold . . . at the late French Church in Black and Grey Eagle St., Spitalfields, and in Peter's Yard, in Castle St., near Leicester Fields.

Date 1746. The letter is by Robert Fowler, a member of Cudworth's connexion. In some copies is added (ix) (*a*). Herein Cudworth's connexion is styled, Congregational.

(ix) (*a*) Letter to M. H. White under sentence of death in Newgate.
(x) Truth defended and cleared from Mistakes and Misrepresentations, etc. Being an Answer to the Postscript of a Letter lately Published. pp. 1–32. 1746.

Sold at above places and the French Chapel in New Hermitage St., Wapping. See no. 7.

(xi) A Second Dialogue between A Preacher of Inherent Righteousness and a Preacher of God's Righteousness. 1746. pp. 33–47.

See no. 4. To this pamphlet is added :—

(xi) (*a*) A Declaration of the Faith and Practice of a Church of Christ, etc. pp. 47–52. 1746.
(xii) The Discovery of the most Dangerous Dead Faith. By the Reverend Mr. John Eaton, A.M. . . . Fifteen Years Minister . . . at Wickham Market in Suffolk. 1747. pp. 1–60.

Sold as above and by Stephen Dixon at Barton in Leicestershire. Preface iii–v by Wm. Cudworth and vi to xii by John Eaton. pp. 56–60 are extracts from Luther's Epistle to the Galatians. See also 10 (iv).

11. The Intentions, Articles and Order of a Church of Christ etc. 1746.†
12. Free Thoughts on . . . Election etc. 1747. 8°. 1s.*†

With Cooper, the publisher of above. Mr. Richard Finch produced in 1747, A Free Examination of Mr. Cudworth's Free Thoughts on Election, etc. 6d.
2nd edition. Free Thoughts on . . . Election, etc., to which is added a letter . . . London Courant, Feb. 26, 1747, with remarks on what Mr. Finch has advanced . . . 1747. 8°. 1s.§

13. The Sentiments of a Church of Christ meeting in Grey Eagle St., Spitalfields, with an account of Mr. C—s's (i.e. William Collins, J.C.W.) Separation from that Church. 1748†, together with

13 (*a*) The Sinner's Duty . . . Extracted from . . . Marshall's Gospel Mystery of Sanctification.†

This pamphlet has not a separate title-page.

14. Justification by Christ Alone. 1749.†

Another edition of 10 (v).

15. Practical Directions for the Members of a Church of Christ.†

16. A Conference between a Sick Man and a Minister.‡

17. Some Observations on . . . Moravians . . . the Extracts of their general Synods and . . . the Doctrine of the Trinity and the Person of Christ. 4d.‡

18. Letter to the Rev. Mr. K. . . . on Repentance. 1752. pp. 12.§

Has a reference to Melbourne, Derbyshire. A copy exists at the Wesleyan Book Room.

19. Imputation of the Sins of the Church unto Christ, etc. 1752.† Anonymous. pp. 1–11 are extracts from Dr. Owen on Justification, pp. 12–14, a tract entitled :—

19 (*a*) The Satisfaction of Christ.†

pp. 15–24 continue as a letter to a cleric dated July 19, 1751, entitled :—

19 (*b*) Some Thoughts on Christ as the Lord Our Righteousness.†

20. A Sermon preached on Easter Sunday, March 29, 1752, upon Romans, iv. 25.‡

21. Hymns on Several Occasions, 1752, pp. 1724.*

22. Christ Our True Principle of Holiness, An Extract from Marshall's Gospel Mystery of Sanctification. 1753.*

23. A Letter . . . to the Society belonging to the Tabernacle at Norwich, 1754. 12mo. R. Pavy, St. Giles, Norwich.*

Printed at Norwich. The copy in the Norwich Public Free Library lacks the preface found in the British Museum copy. The tract is a sermon on Luke xii, 32.

24. Mr. Cudworth's Account of his Proceedings and some of Mr. Wheatley's Friends'. 1754. Norwich.

Copy in Norwich Public Free Library. This forms pp. 41–51 of James Wheatley's "Reply to the Scandalous Papers of Mrs. Mason and Mr. Timothy Keymer."

24 (a) An Answer to Mr. Paul's Advertisement of the 20th of July.

p. 56 of the above collection of pamphlets.

25. A Short Account of the Dealings of God in the Experience of William Cudworth.

1st ed. Before 1754.‡
2nd ed. 1778.†§

26. A Second Part of the Experience of William Cudworth, 1754.†§

    2nd ed. ? date.‡

27. Aphorisms Concerning the Assurance of Faith, drawn up at the request of Mr. Hervey, 1757. 6d.

    2nd ed. 1843. 8°. See no. 46.*

28. A Friendly Attempt to Remove some Fundamental Mistakes in the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Sermon, 1757. 6d.*†

29. A Second Volume of Tracts.
30. A Third Volume of Tracts.
31. A Preservative in Perilous Times, circ. 1758. 12°. 1s.*.

    Three Letters; one to Mr. James Relly and two to Mr. John Wesley. These letters embittered the relations of Cudworth and Wesley.

32. Christ The Only Foundation, A Sermon preached . . . January 7th, 1759, upon the death of Mr. Hervey. 1759. 4d.‡

    2nd edition. Posthumous entitled, A Sermon upon St. Luke ii, 29–31. Copy in Dr. Williams' Library.

33. A Letter wrote by the Author to his Family, etc.§

    This is published with the 2nd edition of no. 32 above, and is Cudworth's dying commendation from Brude (i.e. Brewood, J.C.W.).

34. The Real Union between Christ and His Church, 6d. 1760.§

    A continuation of the controversy with Relly. See no. 31.

35. Mr. Relly's Notion of the Union of Christ and His Church a third time refuted, . . . Animadversions on his pamphlet . . . Antichrist Resisted. ? 1762. 4d.‡
36. Observations on Dr. Free's Speech . . . at Sion House, May the 15th, 1759. . . . inserted in The Monitor, Number 200 and 201, London, 1759. Anonymous.†§
37. Two Emblematical Prints describing the Natural and Spiritual Man. 2s.

    Probably published in 1760 by Ryall of Fleet St.

38. A Defence of Theron and Aspasio against . . . Letters on Theron and Aspasio, with some remarks on two late treatises; . . . "Simple Truth Vindicated" . . . "Free Grace Indeed." 1760, pp. 224. 3s.*†§

    Written against Robert Sandeman and Samuel Pike. An additional preface contains letters of Hervey, not elsewhere printed.

2nd edition. 1764. 3s.
3rd edition. 1825. Embodied in Hervey's collected works.*†§

39. Hymns of Instruction for the Use of the Church of Christ Meeting in Margaret St. . . . 1761. 12mo. pp. 1–10.*†
40. The Polyglott or Hope of Eternal Life, etc. 1761. 1s.*
41. Two Letters to the Rev. Robert Sandeman and those in professed Fellowship with him. ? 1761. 1d. each.‡
42. The Doctrine of Our Lord . . . cleared from the False Glosses of the Rev. Wm. Law, to which are added, Some Scripture Hints of the Kingdom of Heaven.§

    Mr. Law's Dialogue had been addressed to the Countess of Huntingdon.

43. A Review of the Controversy betwixt Palaemon and Aspasio, in answer to Mr. Sandeman's Appendix. ? 1762. 6d.‡

    The Appendix is that to the 3rd ed. of Letters on Theron and Aspasio, Edinburgh. 1762.†

44. A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Hearers of the Apostles . . . 2 pts. 1763 and 1764. 12mo. pp. 1–165. Index i–vi.*

    p. 123 is a hymn on Cudworth's death, June 10, 1763. [Also a reprint, Nottingham 1777.]

45. The New Testament Church, or A Short View of Christianity . . . with Preface . . . to the Congregations at Norwich and at Forncett. 1764. pp. 1–24.*
46. Aphorisms concerning the Assurance of Faith ; Saving Faith as laid down in the Word of God . . . Extracts from the Rev. Wm. Cudworth of Norwich . . . printed for the Free Church of Scotland. 1843. 8°. Edinburgh and London.*
47. Looking to the Cross. An edition of the treatise on Marks and Evidence, edited and indexed by A. Bonar. 4th Thous. 1851. Kelso. 16mo.*
48. Letters in the Gentlemen's Magazine, May to August. 1761.
49. [Possibly of Cudworth's editing] Sacred Hymns for the Use of editing Religious Societies. 1752. pp. 1–46 and Index, 3 pp.§

    Probably printed for the use of Wheatley's congregation at Norwich. The majority of the hymns are certainly not Cudworth's. Hymn 68 is to accompany the administration of Extreme Unction.

50. [Possibly Cudworth's] A Collection of Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies. 1753. pp. 1–76.§

Hymn 16 is for "one that is lunatick and sore vexed." Hymn 56 is entitled, "The Holy Eucharist as it implies a Sacrifice." [1]

51. [Probably Cudworth's] A Collection of Hymns. Norwich, 1752. pp. 1–32.§

    In general the verse is much inferior to that of the two previous compilations. Nos. 49–51 are bound in contemporaneous calf, initialled A.P., and have pasted on the first cover a woodcut of Wheatley's Tabernacle, superscribed "What hath God wrought?" Num. xxiii, 23.

52. [Probably Cudworth's] The Work of the Spirit in Bringing a Soul to Christ. Circ. 1756.‡

    This "evangelical piece" is mentioned in a letter of the Rev. Jas. Hervey dated Jan. 26, 1756. He desires Cudworth to send him a copy.

53. [Not Cudworth's, but ascribed to him by T. Keymer.] A Reply to the Scandalous Papers of Mrs. M——n and Mr. T—— K——r. 1754.

    This Norwich pamphlet was directed by some friends of James Wheatley against Mrs. Mary Mason (*née* Towler) and Timothy Keymer, a comb-maker of questionable reputation who became preacher at Great Gransden. A copy exists in the Norwich Public Free Library.

54. [Not Cudworth's but ascribed to him, as a forgery perpetrated under Hervey's name by the Rev. Walter Sellon, and as ascribed in part to him by John Wesley.] Aspasio Vindicated and . . . Imputed Righteousness defended against the Rev. Mr. John Wesley. 12mo. pp. 288. 1764. William Gray. Edinburgh.‡ [With Preface by Philolethes.]

    The eleven letters are Hervey's and agree textually with his extant holograph. The preface was written by the Rev. John Erskine of New and Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh.

55. [Not Cudworth's, but compiled from material partly supplied by him.]
    A True and Particular Narrative of the Disturbances and Outrages that have been Committed in the City of Norwich, since November . . . London, 1752.*†

    The account consists partly of statements of the rioters and partly of letters to the St. James's Evening Post of the early part of the year 1752.

[1] Dr. Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, in his treatise on the Lord's Supper, treats it as "not a sacrifice, but a Feast upon a Sacrifice." That is the distinction implied in the title above.

Printers and Publishers of the Above Tracts, etc.

E. Allen, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, 20, 21, 44.
M. Cooper, The Globe, Paternoster Row, 12.
C. Corbett, Addison's Head, Fleet Street, 1.
R. Pavy, St. Giles's, Norwich, 23.
Stephen Dixon, Barton, Leicestershire, 10 (xii).
J. Gordon, Joyner, The Lyon and Chair, Argyle Street, Golden Square, 1.
J. Hart, Popping's Court, Fleet Street, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 (i–xii), 11, 14,
G. Keith, Bible and Crown, Gracechurch Street, 16, 19, 22, 31. 32 (1st edn.), 34, 38 (1st edn.).
J. Lewis, Bartholomew Close, 8, 9, 10 (1–xii), 11, 14.
M. Lewis, Paternoster Row, 16, 19, 31.
T. Smith, Ship Alley, Wellclose Square, 16, 19, 31, 34.
J. Wren, The Bible, near Turnstyle, Holborn, 14.

J. C. Whitebrook.

The Diary of an Ejected Minister

IN the *Nonconformists' Memorial* is an interesting account of Rev. Francis Chandler, ejected from the sequestrated benefice of Theydon Mount, Essex. Mr. Chandler kept a Latin Diary, which came into the hands of a Mr. B. H. Bright, and was lent by him to Rev. Joseph Hunter. Mr. Hunter made copious extracts from this diary, translating for the most part, sometimes condensing, and in a few places transcribing the original Latin. These extracts form part of the *Collectanea Hunteriana* in the British Museum (MS. Addl. 24485, pp. 35–43), and we think are of sufficient interest to deserve reproduction, especially in view of the numerous references to ministers ejected in Essex. We have ventured to translate most of those portions which Hunter left in Latin, excepting where illegibility makes the sense difficult to ascertain.

1661.—Aug. 12. I dined at Dr. Meg's, who after dinner took me into his little study (*musaeolum*), where with many words and in various manners he endeavoured to induce me to conformity. The result was that I determined to enjoy my liberty, at least till the affairs of the church are settled in parliament.

13. Dr. Megs and his wife visited us.

14. My aunt King was this day buried in the chapel at Ongar, when Mr. Larkin preached. I with my wife (*meissima*) and niece Chaundler rode to the funeral. I and my wife slept at cousin Archer's.

16. Rode to Epping. Rob Jones returned to us from London.

18. Preached at Garmon both parts of the day on Cant. iv. 7. Dined with Mr. Megs, by whom we were kindly received.

20. Rode to Ongar, where heard Mr. Car [1] preach : returning Mr. Car and I visited Mr. Calendrine.[2]

22. Baptized the little daughter of Wm. Hovilambe at the request of Mr. Car in the church at Lambourne ; name Maria. Dined with him with many of his neighbours.

24. Dined with Mr. Bennet.

27. Mr. Borfit [3] visited me.

28. Samuel Hill left school, about to go beyond sea.

29. *Ad Nundinum a Vepribus?* [word illegible] and nephew Edward Chaundler and his wife.

Sept. 2. I, my wife, and little son Francis rode to Mrs. Archer's, lately returned from a long journey.

3. Heard Mr. Harris [4] at Ongar.

15. Preached at Theydon and Garmon, my wife accompanying me. After our return my wife fell into labour, and about 8 o'clock brought forth a son, *Deo obstetricanti.*

18. Sent £6 to Mr. Purchas [5] by brother James.

19. Rode to London, where I visited Mr. Rob. Jones, with whom I dined, and Mr. Will. Jones recovering from a disease, and brother Oglethorpe ; then returned home.

22. Baptized my son by the name of Samuel.[6]

23. My dear friend Mr. Car died.

26. He was buried ; Mr. Harper [7] preached.

30. Rode to Stratford to visit my sister.

Oct. 3. This day Francis Rogers came to us at 55s. a year.

6. Preached at Theydon in the morning and at Garmon at noon, when the Earl of Anglesey and his lady [8] were present, now the second time.

8. Mr. Brown of Chigwell visited me.

10. Very many of our neighbours at Lambourne congratulated us on the recovery of my wife. Mr. Palmer, his wife, and Mrs. Gent, Mr. Tho. Brown, his wife and 2 dau^{rs}, Mr. Wil. Brown and his wife, Mr. Hovilamb and his d^{r}, Jo. Nichols and his wife, with others.

17. Brother Oglethorpe and his brother visited us.

21. Rode to visit Mr. Archer, with whom I dined. In the journey I lost my watch (*horologium*).

[1] Probably Gamaliel Carr of Lambourne. He died about a month later.

[2] Lewis Calendrine, ejected from the rectory of Stapleford Abbots.

[3] Probably Samuel Borfet, ejected from the rectory of High Laver.

[4] Not identified.

[5] Probably George Purchas, just outed from the sequestrated rectory of Panfield.

[6] He was afterwards Dissenting minister at Andover.

[7] Probably John Harper, outed from the sequestrated vicarage of Epping. He is said to have afterwards conformed.

[8] The Countess of Anglesey was afterwards a member of the Congregational Church of which Dr. John Owen was pastor.

27. Preached at Garmon. I, my wife, and nephew Oglethorpe dined at Mr. Archer's.

31. Preached the lecture at Brentwood, then rode to Chelmsford, where I slept at the house of cousin Theophilus Aylmer.

Nov. 26. The eldest son of Dr. Megs came to me, and earnestly besought me that I would go over to his mother and endeavour to speak with her; his parents being very much exasperated against him because he had married without their knowledge.

Dec. 1. Preached at Theydon, when I excited the people to charity towards the Lithuanian Prot^ts.

4. Rode to Rumford, where I received £10 left me by Mr. Francys.

7. Dr. Megs came to me and complained very much of the disgraceful marriage of his son *cum meretrice* as he called her.

12. To-day my scholars *rivos clauserunt*[1] [These classical expressions are constantly occurring.—T.W.D.].

16. Rode with my wife to visit Mr. Archer, with whom we dined: then visited the wife of Dr. Megs, and walked to Gamishall to visit Sir T. Abdy, Knight and Baronet, and his wife [last word cancelled] when his brother John Abdy was sick.

17. Rode to Mr. Mildmay's at Marks, where I slept.

18. Preached at Romford: dined with Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Wells of Hornex, Mr. Stonehouse, and Mr. Cummins at Marks.

19. Rode to London, taking leave of Mr. Mildmay, from whom I received 20s. as a gift in gold being lately coined.

1661–2.—Jan. 20. Sister Dakeyne departed to London.

22. A day of public fast on account of the unseasonable weather. Preached at Theydon Garmon, where there was a collection for the poor.

Feb. 3. Dr. Meg told me of some complaints against me being made to the bishop of London.

Mch. 17. Rode to Chelmsford, where I met brother and nephew Ange (?).

19. The cause of brother Ange (?) defendant in an action of defamation, Dr. Ward complainant, was heard.

1662.—May 10. We walked to the well at Epsom.

21. Walked to the same well, where I drank beer made of the water, as I had done the day before.

29. Preached a sermon commemorative of the king's return at Theydon on 2 Saml. xix. 14, 15.

June 6. Rode to Epping; then visited Mr. Archer, and afterwards rode to Dr. Megs, to whom I gave notice that I should not conform. I asked him whether I might continue to preach at Theydon and Garmon, and continue my school, till the time

[1] Had they practised the schoolboy trick of "barring him out"?

limited in the Act of Uniformity. I obtained his consent, and a promise of impunity as far as it is in his power.

July 1. Preached at Ongar on a sudden, Mr. Calamy[1] being absent.

21. Visited Mr. Church, who is about to marry Sister Dakeyne.

29. I married sister Dakeyne to Abraham Church, citizen of London, in the church of Aldermanbury: we dined at Mr. Smart's, where Mr. Calamy and his wife and many others were with us.

Aug. 11. Brother and sister Church with her little daughter Eliz. Dakeyne left us for London.

17. *Prædicabam apud Garmon ambabus diei vicibus in Heb.* xiii. 20, 21, *quando ultimam vale iis dedi populo multum lacrymis dolorem exprimente. Eben Ezer.* θεῳ μονῳ δοξη εις αιωνιον Αμην.

18. I with my wife dined with the wife of Dr. Meggs, his son, and his wife on venison sent by the Countess of Anglesey to Mr. Archer.[2]

19. Rode to Ongar, where heard Mr. Walker.

20. Dedicated this day to fasting and prayer in my family.

21. Sent my son Francis to Mrs. Car for change of air. Dined with other neighbours at Abraham Staines.

22. Rode to Epping, where many would dissuade me from preaching the next Sunday at Theydon, but consulting Mr. Archer I then learned the acceptable news that there are hopes of indulgence from the king.

23. Mr. Walker returning from London confirmed the said news.

24. I preached at Theydon, both parts of the day, on Deut. xxx. 19; a quiet assembly. We dined with Mr. Holloway. For the present I deferred taking leave of the people, on account of the hope of an Indulgence from the king—but a little after vanishing. This night Mr. Holloway began to labour under a mortal disease.

25. I and my wife rode to Chelmsford, and thence to Hadleigh, where we spent the night.

26. I and my wife walked to Maldon, and dined with brother Robert Francys.

27. Rode to Tufts, where I met Mr. Purchas[3]: after dinner visited Mr. Gilson,[4] who is sick; then rode to Graies, where I spent the night.

28. I rode to Chelmsford, where I received notice of a convention of ejected brethren. I walked to Moulsham Hall, where I met with Mr. Willis of Ingatestone, Mr. Harrison,[5] Mr. Wray,[6] Mr.

[1] Ejected from Moreton. He was the father of Dr. Calamy the historian.

[2] This suggests that Mr. Chandler had effected reconciliation between Mrs. Meggs and her son respecting his marriage: see 26 Nov. and 7 Dec. above.

[3] Ejected from Panfield.

[4] Ej. from Little Baddow.

[5] Ej. from Little Waltham.

[6] Ej. from Great Baddow.

Clopton,[1] Mr. Benson,[2] Mr. Oakes,[3] Mr. Taylor,[4] and Mr. Rathband.[5] On my return I came across brother and sister Aylmer in the way. I passed the night at the house of kinsman Theophilus Aylmer.

Sept. Brother Coys [6] and cousin Plum, with brother and sister Aylmer, etc., entertained me at the King's Head at the expense of cousin Plum.

Oct. 1. Dined with Lord Grey of Groby at his house at Epping.

31. Agreed with Mr. Bishop to sell him my lands and tenements at Woodham Ferrers for £615.

Nov. 3. Cousin Mosse left us for London. Gout in his knee.

27. Saw the reception of the Russian Amb^r which was (?) signift. We were invited to the house of cousin Church, where we saw the procession.

Dec. 9. Brother Coys [7] left us in poor health.

Jan. 24. Dined with Sir Carew Mildmay at the house of Will. Brown.

Feb. 18. Kept a day of fasting and prayer with Mr. Lavender,[8] Mr. Willis of Ingatestone, Mr. Whiston,[9] Mr. Lukin,[10] and Mr. Borfit,[11] at the house of Mr. Lavender. Mr. Lav^r began by prayer, then Mr. Lukin preached, and then I prayed, and Mr. Borfit ended with prayer. Slept at cousin Archer's.

1663.—July 19. A child born whom they call Rebecca. [He had at this time two sons named Daniel and Francis.] She died on 29th.

Nov. 10. Visited cousin Plumbe : then rode to Camalodunum,[12] where I preached in the house of brother Francys.

11. Rode to cousin Alleynes, where I dined : then to [illegible] and slept at the house of brother Fenne. [At this period he was often preaching in private families.]

Nov. 23. Dined with Dr. Castell, to whom I paid 1 : 10 for his *Lexic. Heptagl.*, having before deposited 2 : 10 in the hands of Samuel Smith. Baptized the little son of my brother Church,[13] named Abraham.

24. Heard Mr. Tillison [14] preach in Lawrence Church on Job xxviii. 20.

[1] Ej. from Reckondon.
[2] Ej. from Little Leigh.
[3] Ej. from Boreham.
[4] (?) If Edmund Taylor, ej. from Littleton near Staines ; if not we cannot locate him.
[5] Ej. from South Weald near Brentwood.
[6] Mrs. Chandler's brother.
[7] Mrs. Chandler's brother.
[8] Ej. from Ongar.
[9] Ej. from Little Laver.
[10] Silenced, but not ejected, not having any benefice.
[11] Ej. from High Laver.
[12] Probably Colchester ; but the name was sometimes used for Maldon.
[13] Perhaps Joseph Church, ej. from Hackwell.
[14] Probably Tillotson, afterwards archbishop.

25. Preached in the evening in the house of Mr. Smart before 60 persons; amongst whom were Mr. Calamy jun^{r} and his mother.

Dec. 8. Rode to Woodford Bridge, expecting the return of my wife from London; but the coach (*currus*) did not return that night.

9. Rode to the same place, but the coach was not returned. This day Mr. Archer was made a Knight.

10. My wife returned to me in safety in the said coach.

11. Rode to Epping; visited Mrs. Archer, lately made a lady, on my return.

17. I supped and slept at Lady Archer's. After supper preached on Phil. i. 28–29.

18. I, my wife, and Lady Archer rode to Mr. Harper's, where we saw his scholars perform "The Eunuch" of Terence. After our return I preached in the family of Lady Archer on Ps. cxix. 96; and there I spent the night.

Jan. 11. The infant of sister Church died.

18. Nephew Daniel Chandler visited us.

Feb. 2. Kept the 6th anniversary of our wedding day.

4. Kept a fast in the house of Mr. Hervey,[1] where Mr. Hervey preached, Mr. Lukin, Mr. Lavender, and I prayed.

Mar. 9. Rode to Romford, met cousin Isaac Francys; then to Brentwood, where I met with my brothers in tribulation Mr. Horrocks,[2] Mr. Scot,[3] and Mr. Clopton.[4] Rode to the houses of cousin Stride and cousin Ben; slept at cousin Archer's.

1664.—Apl. 10. Preached in the family of cousin Edward Chandler at Ware.

July 12. Dined at cousin King's with others at the wedding of cousin Hill with Mr. Cole. After dinner we went by water to a place called Jamaica in Redriffe, where I met Mr. Crawford of Hertford.

24. A little son of cousin Oglethorpe's, who had been with us eleven weeks, died.

Aug. 10. Rode to Chelmsford, where I met with Mr. Horrocks and Mr. Lisle at the house of Mr. Derrival, where I dined. Mr. Lisle had been delivered out of custody, in which he had been nine months detained.

Oct. 7. In London. Supped at cousin Mosses.

17. Cousin Richard Cox came to visit us.

Nov. 27. Received letters from brother Coys in which he informs me of his arrest by Mr. Miller, and pathetically begs that I will come to him. [On the 30th he visited him in the Fleet Prison.]

Nov. 30. [Another daughter born, whom he named Rebecca.]

[1] Ej. from Laver-Magdalen.
[2] Ej. from Malden.
[3] Ej. from Great Wakering.
[4] Ej. from Rivenhall.

1665.—Apl. 24. James Manning, who has married niece Hannah Fenne, visited us.

25. Rode with them to London, and paid to the said James £20 given by my former wife to Hannah Fenne.

26. Visited Mrs. Dodderidge.

May 3. Kept a fast at Mr. Hervey's.

21. Mr. Kiteley visited us, and spoke to me about undertaking the education of two sons of his sister Hill.

22. Rode to Mr. Kiteley's,[1] where I met with Mr. Hill, formerly serjeant-at-law, with his wife. Then it was agreed that I should take the two sons, receiving £18 a year for each.

June 14. Mr. Baron Hill[2] with his wife visited us.

17. I rode to see Lady Archer, from whom I suffered a sharp reprimand for publishing a commission as justice lately given to Mr. Holdsworth Senr, as if Mr. Holdsworth Junr had been lodging at home.

July 15. Preached at the house of Baron Hill.

Aug. 2. Baron Hill sent his carriage for me, my wife, and scholars to come to his house to keep a private fast on account of the plague; the day being appointed publicly to be observed. Mr. Kitely prayed; Mr. Thorowgood[3] preached on Job xix. 21; I finished by preaching on Is. lxvi. 2.

9. Mr. Moulder, who married the daughter of Mr. Ferriby, instead of an antidote took nearly 100 grains of opium. They sent for me with great importunity; but I was afraid to accede until evening, when Dr. Manton accompanied me.

10. Mr. Moulden recovered by the great providence of God, through the efforts of Dr. Stanes, Dr. Mills, and Mr. Pullyn.

12. Rode to London, and received £30 of Mr. Backwell. On the way I met the wife of my host at the Ram's Head; qui pestam in quadam domo stabulo super eminenti ope nummos opertune illuc [what follows is illegible.] Dined with Mr. Clare. Returned home in safety.

17. This day niece Oglethorpe acquainted us that her brother, coming to us, took on the road a little boy from a woman who confessed to him that her husband had died of the plague; and carried it on his knee on horseback; but hitherto he is safe.

22. Dined after prayer, at which Mr. Ambrose Mildmay was present, at Graies, and then rode with Mr. Mildmay to Moulsam Hall, where I visited sister Brewer and met aunt Mekin: then rode to cousin Aylmer at Chelmsford.

25. Rode to Brayntry, where I sent for (?) Gamaliel and William [illegible] Father Car; and afterwards to Felstead, where I dined with mother Car.

[1] Ej. from Aubery Hatch.
[2] This implies that Serjeant Hill had been raised to the Bench.
[3] Perhaps ej. from Monckton, Kent.

31. Mr. Agas, chaplain to the Earl of Anglesey, dined with [illegible].

Sept. 6. Another fast at Baron Hill's.

7. Visited the Countess of Carlisle.

1666.—May 18, 19, 21. [Visits cousin Peacock, West (?) and Stevens and cousin Gardner.]

Aug. 9. Visited cousin Hockley, from whom I received a shilling to drink wine with my wife.

10. Received £10 for a personal gift, out of money left by will to Ejected Ministers.

Sept. 1. Rode to Pelham Hall to visit brother Alymer; but he with sister removed thence the day before to the house of his brother at Wicken. Hac nocte ignis prodigiosus civitatem invadere cepit, qui usque ad diem Jovis flagrare pergebat.

2. Walked to church, where we heard Mr. Henry Archer.

3. Cousin Hanchet (?) with nephew and niece Aylmer came to visit us. Certioris facti sumus de conflagratione illa miserenda Londini.

5. A day of public fast. Heard Mr. Archer.

6. This day, thank God, the dreadful conflagration is extinguished: but three chief parts of the city are burnt.

7. Rode to Harle End, where Mr. Payne[1] and I prayed.

8. Nephew and niece Aylmer visited us. Walked with them to Wil. Westwood's, where I heard that our houses in London were burnt.

9. We walked with our three sons to church, where we heard Mr. Archer on Jer. xvii. 27.

Oct. 19. [Has a son born, whom he calls Abraham.]

Dec. 2. [His little daughter dies.]

The last entry is dated 24 May, 1667; and Mr. Chandler died a few days later.

[1] Probably ej. from Bishop's Stortford.

State Prayers—from The Niblock Collection

(*Continued from p.* 327.)

(VI) *A Form of Common Prayer to be used on Wednesday, the Tenth day of October next . . . being appointed by his Majesty a day of Fasting and Humiliation, in consideration of the late Dreadful FIRE, which wasted the greater part of the City of London.* 1666.

His Majesty hath commanded all Ministers, with all possible earnestness, to stir up the people of their several Congregations that day to a charitable and bountiful Contribution for the relief of those many poor distressed persons, who suffer by reason of this fire . . . And this collection is to be made either in the public Congregation, or by going from house to house, as shall be most conducing to this Charitable and Pious Work.

Here follows the Litany; which, as it is here printed, together with the other proper Collects in this book, shall be used publickly in Churches, not only upon the Monthly Fast-day, but on Wednesday in every week, (and may by every one be used daily in private families) during the time of this pestilence.

"Look down, O Lord, in the bowels of thy mercy upon the sorrows and distresses of thy servants, who in the deepest sense of thy amazing judgments, and our own manifold provocations, lie prostrate in the dust before Thee. To Thee, O God holy and true, belong mercy and forgiveness, but to us confusion of face as it is this day; for we are that incorrigible nation who have resisted thy judgments and abused thy mercies; we have despised the chastisements of the Lord, and turned his grace into wantonness. What shall we then say unto thee, O thou Preserver of men? Thou hast found out the iniquity of thy servants, and discovered our nakedness and pollution, in a vengeance suited and answerable to our grievous crying sins. Our pride, oppression, and fulness of bread had made us like to Sodom, and thou hast afflicted us as Gomorrha. We would not be reclaimed by thy exemplary punishments upon others, and thou hast made us a terror and astonishment to all that are round about us.

"And now, O Lord, thou art most just in all that is come upon us; for thou hast done right, but we have done very wickedly. Yet, behold, we are all thy people, though an unthankful and rebellious people. Suffer us therefore to implore thy pity, and the sounding of thy bowels; and for thy name's sake, for thy mercies sake, for Christ Jesus sake, incline thine ear to us and save us. Above all, we beseech thee, abandon us not to ourselves; but by what method soever shall please thee to reduce us, though to this bitter cup of trembling thou shalt add more and more grievous afflictions, by any the severest course, subdue us unto thyself, and make us to see the things belonging to our peace before they be hid from our eyes; that being duly humbled under thy mighty hand, we may be capable of being relieved and exalted in thy due time, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

"We bless and magnifie thy name, O Lord, for that wonderful mercy thou hast vouchsafed us in midst of thy just and dreadful judgments. It is of thy goodness that we are not consumed; that when we had provoked thee to give us all up to utter ruin and desolation, and thy hand was stretched out to execute thy whole displeasure upon us, yet thou hast preserved a remnant, and plucked us as a brand out of the fire, that we should not utterly perish in our sins. Add, we beseech thee, this one mercy to all that thou hast so unsuccessfully cast away upon us: By thy mighty convincing Spirit awaken our sleepy consciences, soften and melt our hard hearts; that being humbled by thy chastisements we may by thy goodness be led to repentance, and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen unto us: But contrariwise, may faithfully improve this respite and relief, with all its precious advantages and opportunities, to a thankful, humble, profitablle walking before thee, that so thy name may be glorified, the gospel credited, and our souls saved in the Day of the Lord. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Redeemer. Amen." [1]

(VII) *A Form of Prayer to be used on Friday the Eleventh of April, being the Fast Day appointed by the King's Proclamation, to seek reconciliation with Almighty God, and to implore him that he would infatuate and defeat the counsels of the papists, our enemies, continue his mercies, and the light of his Gospel to us, and our posterity; and beslow his abundant blessings upon his sacred Majesty, and this present Parliament.* 1679.

[This refers to the sham plot of Titus Oates.]

Die *Martis* 25° *Martii* 1679. Resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

[1] An Adaptation of this prayer was ordered to be used in an Anniversary Commemoration of the Great Fire, on the 2nd of September in every year. This observance was continued for many years.

by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in parliament assembled, That they do declare that they are fully satisfied by the proofs they have heard, that there now is, and for divers years last past hath been a horrid and treasonable plot and Conspiracy, contrived and carried on by those of the popish religion, for the murdering of his Majesty's sacred person, and for subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient and established Government of this Kingdom.

Jo. Browne, Cleric'. Parliamentor'.

Instead of the Collect for the Day, shall be used this which followeth:—

Almighty God, who of thy great mercy toward us hast discovered the designs, and disappointed the attempts of those Popish Conspirators, who under the pretence of religion, and thy most holy Name, had contrived our Destruction, and laboured by the most unjustifiable Methods of Treason and Murder, and the Assassination of his Majesty's sacred person, to introduce the Tyranny of a foreign power, and the abomination of superstitious worship, and thereby to enslave both the bodies and souls of thy servants, and so extinguish the blessed light of thy holy gospel among us: We yield thee praise and thanks for this thine infinite goodness to us; imploring thy grace and favour in the further discovery of those depths of Satan, this mystery of iniquity. Send forth thy light and thy truth, and let them preserve us. Protect and defend our Sovereign Lord the King. Bind up his soul in the bundle of life, and let no Weapon form'd against him prosper. Clothe all his enemies with shame, but upon himself and his posterity let the crown ever flourish. To this end bless the present Parliament now assembled, and knit together the hearts of this whole nation, as the heart of one man, and the defence of our King, our Laws, and our religion. Teach us to know, at least in this our day, the things which belong to our peace, and let them not be hid from our eyes. Remove from amongst us the accursed thing; those personal, and those public guilts the cry whereof is gone up to the heavens, and calls aloud for vengeance. And grant that being by true repentance reconciled to thee our God, we may also be united by Christian love and charity to one another: so that we walking in the paths of thy holy law, thou mayest continue the blessing thereof to us, and our posterity, and we all may continue to give thee thanks for ever, and shew forth thy praise from generation to generation; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For deliverance from the papists our enemies; Taken out of the Office of the 5th of November:—

Almighty God, who hast in all ages shewed thy Power and Mercy in the Miraculous and Gracious deliverance of thy

Church, and in the protection of righteous and religious Kings and States, professing thy holy and eternal truth, from the wicked Conspiracies and malicious practices of all the enemies thereof: Be thou still our mighty Protector, and scatter our enemies that delight in blood: Infatuate and defeat their counsels, abate their pride, assuage their Malice, and confound their devices: strengthen the hands of our Gracious King Charles, and all that are in authority under him, with Judgements and Justice, to cut off all such workers of iniquity as turn religion into rebellion and Faith into Faction; that they may never prevail against us, or triumph in the ruin of thy Church among us: but that our gracious Sovereign and his realms, being preserved in thy true religion, and by thy merciful goodness protected in the same, we may all duly serve thee, and give thee thanks in thy holy Congregation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Immediately after the Prayer For the Whole State of Christ's Church, *shall this be used:—*

Glorious and gracious God, whose Judgements against obstinate sinners are most severe and terrible, but thy Mercies infinite to all that with hearty Repentance and true Faith turn unto thee; We sinful people of this land do acknowledge before thee, to thy glory and our own shame, that never had any Nation more experience of thy Goodness; nor yet did any more unthankfully abuse it. When thou gavest us great and long prosperity, we fed ourselves to the full, waxed fat, and kicked against thee. When thou threwest us into horrid confusions, from which we saw then little hope of arising, even in the time of that distress did we trespass yet more against thee. When by miracles of mercy thou hadst turned our captivities, we soon returned to folly, to our vomit, to our wallowing in our former or greater filthiness. Even while thou hast of late appeared for us, by discovering the Plots and Contrivances of our implacable enemies of the Romish Faction, we have been in the mean time for our sins fighting against Heaven and against thee. And now we are in no wise worthy to be called thy sons, nor thy servants, whom neither thy fear hath drawn, nor thy goodness led to repentance. In mercy awaken our drowsy consciences; soften and subdue our hard hearts into deep contrition. Pardon the many great offences of us thy servants, and the crying sins of the whole nation. Remove the evils we now lie under. Avert the judgements which we justly fear, because we most justly deserve. Discover more and more the snares of death and Popish Treachery; and let us never fall into the hands of those men whose mercies are cruel. Unite all our hearts in the profession of the true religion, which thine own right hand hath planted among us, and in a holy conversation answerable thereunto. Pour out thy abundant blessings

upon our gracious King, and his great Council, the present Parliament. Keep him as the apple of thine eye; hide him under the shadow of thy wings. Inform his Princes after thy will, and teach his senators wisdom: and grant that all their Counsels, Resolutions, and Endeavours may tend to and end in the glory of thy great name, the Preservation of thy Church and true religion among us, and the security, peace, and prosperity of these kingdoms: All which we humbly beg in the Name, and through the Mediation, of Jesus Christ, thy Son our Saviour. Amen.

(VIII) *A Form of Prayer to be used on Wednesday the 22nd of December*, 1680.

[This belongs to the time when, a Comprehension Bill having been rejected, a Toleration Bill was passed through both Houses of Parliament, and by some royal jugglery was not presented for the Royal Assent. The first and third prayers are substantially identical with those of 11th April, 1679; the second is as follows:—]

"Blessed Jesu, our Saviour and our Peace; who didst shed thy precious Blood upon the Cross that thou mightest abolish and destroy all enmity among men, and reconcile them in one body unto God: Look down in much pity and compassion upon this distressed Church, and Nation, who's bleeding wounds, occasioned by the lamentable divisions that are among us, cry aloud for thy speedy Help and saving Relief. Stir up, we beseech thee, every soul of us, carefully (as becomes sincere Christians) to root out of our hearts all Pride and Vain Glory, all Wrath and Bitterness, all Unjust Prejudice, all Causeless Jealousy, all Hatred, and Malice, and desire of Revenge, and whatsoever it is that may any-way exasperate our Minds [*something omitted in the MS.*]: And by the power of thy holy Spirit of Peace, dispose all our hearts to such Meekness of Wisdom, and lowliness of Mind, such calm and deliberate long-suffering and forbearance of one another in love, with such due Esteem of those whom thou hast set over us to watch for our souls, as may turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to the Fathers; that so we may become a ready people, prepared to live in peace, and the God of Peace may be with us. To this end, give us all grace, O Lord, seriously to lay to heart not only the great Dangers we are in at present by these our unhappy divisions, but also the great obligations to this godly Union and Concord, which lie upon us: That as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, so we may henceforth be all of one Heart and of one Soul, closely united in one holy Bond of Truth

and Peace, of Faith and Charity, and may with one Mind and one Mouth glorify thee, O Lord the Prince of Peace ; Who with thy blessed Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, livest and reignest ever one God, world without end. Amen.

(IX) *A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving to be used on Sunday, September 9th . . . in due acknowledgment of God's wonderful Providence and Mercy in Discovering and Defeating the late Treasonable Conspiracy against His Sacred Majesties' Person and Government.* 1683.

[This refers to the "Rye-House Plot."]

Proper Psalms—M : 9, 21, 118 ; E : 92, 124, 141.
First Lesson—M : 2 Sam. 22 ; E : Numb. 16.
Second Lesson—M : Acts 23 ; E : Jude or 1 Pet. 2.

Special Collect—Almighty God, who hast in all ages shewed forth thy power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of thy Church, and in the Protection of Righteous and Religious Kings and States, professing thy holy and eternal truth, from the malicious Conspiracies and wicked practices of all their enemies : We yield unto thee from the very bottom of our hearts unfeigned thanks and praise for the late signal and wonderful Deliverance of our most Gracious Sovereign, his Royal Brother, and loyal Subjects of all Orders and Degrees, by the fanatick rage and treachery of wicked and ungodly men appointed as sheep to the slaughter in a most barbarous and savage manner. From this unnatural and hellish conspiracy not our merit, but thy mercy ; not our foresight, but thy providence ; not our own arm, but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance hath rescu'd and deliver'd us, even because thou hadst a favour unto us : And therefore not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be ascribed all honour, glory, and praise, with most humble and hearty thanks in all Churches of the Saints : Even so, Blessed be the Lord our God, who only doeth wondrous things, and blessed be the Name of his Majesty for ever, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and onely Saviour. Amen.

After the Litany :—

O God, whose providence reflects not the meanest of thy creatures, but is most illustriously visible in watching over the persons of Kings, the great Instruments of thy goodness to mankind : We give thee most hearty thanks and praise, as for thy many wonderful deliverances formerly vouchsafed to thy Servant, our dread Sovereign, through the whole course of his life ; so especially for the late Miracle of thy Mercy, whereby thou didst rescue him, and us all, from those bloody designs which nothing but thine infinite wisdom and power could have discovered and defeated. For this thy great goodness (notwith-

standing our great unworthiness and many provocations) so graciously continued unto us, we praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorifie thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory; humbly beseeching thee that our present sense of this thy favour, and the fervent Affections now kindled in our hearts thereby, may never cool or sink down into forgetfulness or ingratitude; but may produce in every one of us firm resolutions of future thankfulness and obedience, with a suitable constant perseverance in the same. Let us never forget how often, and how wonderfully, thou hast preserved thine Anointed and his people; that being all duly sensible of our absolute dependence upon thee, we may endeavour to answer the blessed ends of this thy good providence over us. Continue thou him a nursing father to this thy Church, and thy minister for good to all his people: and let us and all his subjects look upon him henceforth, not only as the Ordinance, but also as the Gift of God; promising and performing in thee and for thee all faithful duty and loyalty to him, and his heirs after him; with a religious obedience and thankfulness unto thee for these and all other thy mercies, through Jesus Christ our Lord. To whom, etc. Amen.

[*There is more in the same strain in the Communion Service.*]

Old Nonconformist Academies

Hungerford

CONSIDERABLE obscurity attends a small academy which existed in this little Berkshire town in the closing years of the seventeenth century. Rev. Benjamin Robinson, who had studied under Woodhouse at Sheriff Hales, commenced a Grammar School at Findern, Derbyshire, about 1693. For this he was cited before Bishop Lloyd, with whom he had some personal acquaintance. The result was a private conversation, which is said to have lasted till two in the morning, followed by a friendly correspondence. In 1696 Robinson accepted a call to a Presbyterian church at Hungerford, to which he is said to have been recommended by John Howe, who presided at his Ordination. He was now urged to commence an academy, in which "several persons" are said to have been trained for the ministry, but no names are on record. Bishop Burnet, of Salisbury, being in the town, complaints were made to him of this schismatic academy; whereupon Robinson waited on the bishop, and the interview led to a permanent friendship. In 1700 Mr. Robinson left Hungerford, being called to London as successor to Woodhouse at Little St. Helens. Who immediately followed him, and whether or not the academy was continued, are alike uncertain. About 1716, or a little later, Edward Godwin, late a student with Samuel Jones at Tewkesbury, came to Hunger-

ford "as assistant minister and joint tutor of an academy"; but who was the senior minister, or whether the "academy" was anything more than a Grammar School, is a matter of doubt. On the death of S. Jones in 1719 Godwin was invited to succeed him as pastor and tutor. This call he declined; but he seems to have held a temporary pastorate at Tewkesbury, where he married Jones's widow. In 1721 he returned to London as colleague with Robinson, and on the death of the latter in 1724 became his successor. He died in 1764; the once celebrated political writer, William Godwin, was his grandson.

Robinson was not a voluminous writer; but a treatise of his, *A Review of the Case of Liturgies and their Imposition*, 1709, excited some controversy. He was also one of the four joint authors of the important volume, *The Doctrine of the Ever-blessed Trinity*, 1719.

Several writers have spoken of Godwin as Robinson's assistant and successor as pastor and tutor at Hungerford; but this is quite impossible; when Robinson left Hungerford in 1700 Godwin was but a child. There is no available information as to when, or under what circumstances, the Hungerford Academy, or the Presbyterian church there, became extinct; but it was certainly long before 1773, and the very location of the building is forgotten.

Exeter—Second Academy

Soon after the collapse of the Taunton Academy in 1759, an effort was made to revive it in new and more congenial surroundings. Exeter had been the focus of the Arian controversy forty years before, and was still a stronghold of Antitrinitarianism. A commodious house in the city was provided by the liberality of William Mackworth Praed, Esq., and the library of the defunct institution at Taunton was removed thither, being considerably increased by a bequest of

books from the Rev. John Hodge, D.D., of Crosby Square, London—himself an old Taunton student. The academy was opened in 1761, under the nominal superintendence of Rev. Micaiah Towgood, of George's Meeting. Mr. Towgood, the grandson of an Ejected Minister, was born at Axminster in 1700; he studied at Taunton, and before settling at Exeter had ministered for fourteen years at Moreton Hampstead, and twelve years at Crediton. He was the author of several publications, the most important of which was *The Dissenting Gentleman's Letters to Mr. White.* To his resolute opposition was ascribed the defeat, in 1753, of an attempt to make subscription to the Doctrine of the Trinity a condition of Ordination by the Exeter assembly. His own theological position was Arian, and he undertook to deliver Critical Lectures on Scripture. The real director of the academy was Rev. Samuel Merivale, from Tavistock, who was Divinity Tutor, and was assisted by Revs. John Turner, of Lympstone, and John Hogg of the Mint Meeting. Mr. Turner died about 1769, and was succeeded as Classical and Mathematical tutor by Mr. Thomas Jervis, also of Lympstone, who in 1772 became tutor in the family of the Earl of Shelburn, at Bowood. Mr. Merivale died on December 28, 1771, and was succeeded as Divinity Tutor by Mr. Hogg; but the institution did not long survive. Mr. Towgood outlived it, and died in 1782.

Altogether the names of forty-eight students are recorded, nine of whom were beneficiaries of the Presbyterian Fund. Quite a minority of them were ministers.

The list is as follows:—

J. Percy Bartlett, Min. Topsham.
James Berry, Edinburgh.
Thomas Berry (attorney).
William Besley.
Joseph Breitland, Min. Exeter.
Samuel Cake, Min. Conformed.
— Carter.
William Clarke.
— Eveleigh (physician).
James Fennimore, Minister.

William Follett.
George Gibbs (merchant, Bristol).
George Graves (navy office).
John Graves (navy, aft. Admiral).
Thomas Graves (Admiral & Bt.).
James Green (trade).
John Green.
Richard Green (trade).
Thos. Gwatkin, Min. America.
— Hale (army).
George Heath, Min. Honiton.
John Hogg, Minister.
William Hooker, (trade).
William Irvin, Minister.
Nathaniel Jeffery.
— Jellicoe.
George Katenkamp (army).
William Lang.
Thomas Lee (merchant).
James Manning, Min. Exeter.
John Merivale.
Henry Mugg, Min. Conformed.
Barthol. Parr (physician, Exeter).
Samuel Pike.
John Pope, Minister.
Jasper Porter (physician).
Robert Remmel (physician).
William Rowe.
Thomas Sander (physician, Chichester).
John Short (died while a student).
John Smith (surgeon).
Philip Taylor (son of Dr. Taylor, of Norwich).
— Temple.
John Vicary, Minister.
John Westcott (physician).
James White (counsellor).
Nathaniel Wraxall (author, afterwards Bt.).
William Youatt, Min. Colyton.

Exeter—Third Academy

In 1799 a third attempt was made to establish an academy in Exeter on "Liberal Christian"—i.e. Unitarian, principles. The tutors were Rev. John Breitland, formerly of the Mint Meeting, and Rev. Timothy Kenrick, of George's Meeting. The experiment, however, was even shorter lived than its predecessors. Mr. Kenrick died suddenly in August 1804, and in February 1805 it was resolved to discontinue the academy. The list of students is as follows :—

Walter Coffin, Bridgend, Glamorgan.
Michael Hinton Castle, Bristol.
Henry Shute, Minister at Shepton Mallet.
James Hews Bransby, Minister at Moreton, Hampstead, and Dudley.
Richard Kennaway, died in India.
Thomas Yate Hunt, Birmingham.
James Perry, Minister at Wrexham, Chester, and Liverpool.
John James, Minister at Lloyd-fach, Cardigan.

William Crawford, Cork.
Shepherd Hobson, London.
Wilkinson Astley, Chesterfield.
* John Simpson, Bath.
* Henry Davies, Minister at Filby and Taunton.
* Thomas Madge, Minister at Bury St. Edmunds and Norwich.
John Kenrick, Exeter.

Except the six noted as ministers and John Kenrick none of these were divinity students. The three marked * finished their studies at York.

(See *Monthly Repository*, 1818.)

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